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THE MEMOIRS
OF
THE DUKE OF SULLY,
PRIME-MINISTER TO
HENRY THE GREAT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
BY CHARLOTTE LENNOX.

A NEW EDITION,
REVISED AND CORRECTED; WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES,
SOME LETTERS OF HENRY THE GREAT

AND
A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

PHILADELPHIA:
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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XXII.

1605.

I. Continuation of the account of the assembly held at Châtelleraut: new artifices of the duke of Bouillon: his letters to the king and assembly. Imprisonment of the Luquisses. Different advices given to Henry IV concerning the seditious: Rosny's opinion of these advices. Rosny disconcerts the schemes of the Protestants at Châtelleraut: he concludes every thing at that assembly to the advantage and satisfaction of the king. The affairs of the deputies general.—II. Affair of the cautionary cities, &c. His advice is not regarded in the affair of Orange: dismisses the assembly; declares the king's pleasure to them; and returns to give an account of his proceedings to his majesty. Henry's journey to Limosin: Rosny accompanies him thither. Turenne, and the other places belonging to the duke of Bouillon, surrender to the king. His majesty's return.—III. Rosny holds the chamber *Les Grands Jours*. Myrargues and the two Luquisses beheaded. Death of Theodore de Beza. Rosny quarrels with the count of Soissons, on account of some privileges annexed to the post of master-general of the ordnance: with the duke d'Epemon, upon account of the city of Rochelle: Henry's reception of the deputies of this city. Rosny's return to Paris: account of his proceedings. Queen Margaret arrives at Paris; her reception from their majesties.—IV. Memorial of Rosny upon duels, wherein he explains the origin, and the different customs of duelling. Henry's blamable indulgence in this respect: the good and bad fortune of this prince.

I. **T**HE general assembly of the Protestants at Châtelleraut was already opened, when the king received a letter from the duke of Bouillon, which was brought by a man named Russy: in this letter Bouillon ac-

quainted his majesty, that a league was actually forming among the German princes against the house of Austria; and that these princes, being desirous of strengthening themselves with the power and assistance of his majesty, had fixed upon him to be a mediator between the king and them. On their part, he promised a full security to the king and kingdom; and on his own, he offered, with an effusion of the noblest sentiments, to assist this design with his person and forces, expressing great joy at his having found an opportunity so often hinted at by Montluet, when, in writing to him by the king's orders, he told him, that it was by real and effectual services, and not by words only, that, for the future, he could persuade this prince of the purity of his intentions.

Henry, on the receipt of this letter, was neither much moved in favour of the duke of Bouillon, nor greatly pleased with the pretended scheme: far from accepting an offer in appearance so favourable to his designs, he was apprehensive of raising an insurmountable obstacle to the execution of them by too great precipitation; besides, the snare which Bouillon laid for him, was too thinly disguised to produce the effect it was designed for. Nothing could be more improbable, than that the German princes should choose Bouillon to act the part of a mediator and reconciler, he who was himself considered by the council of France as a criminal. Henry therefore contented himself with telling Russy, in answer to this letter, that the duke's informations were too indefinite, and came too late. Bouillon would certainly have expected very little success from this artifice, if he had known that a letter, which he had written to the Protestants assembled at

Châtelleraut, fell at the same time into his majesty's hands: this letter was a kind of answer to that which, as we have observed, had been lately sent to Bouillon by Saint-Germain-de Clan, and, it was well known, was designed for him; though, in one part of it, he mentions Saint-Germain as a third person. By the contents, it was plain, that the letter he wrote his majesty from Germany, was done with no other view but to induce the king to treat him more favourably in the assembly, and to hinder him from suspecting the true motives of his conduct.

The duke of Bouillon, in his letter to Saint-Germain, did not lose sight of his quality of chief of the party, since it was written with an intention to regulate the proceedings of the assembly. The nomination of the deputies was the article first and principally considered in it: he gave his opinion of each of those persons who might pretend to this office, such as la Nouë, du Plessis, Bellujon, and Saint-Germain himself, in whose favour he gave his vote for continuing him in his employment, from which he was now discharged, and interested himself so much in it, as to exhort the Protestants to unite their endeavours to make the election fall upon him: he bestowed great praises upon la Nouë, but recommended it to them to give the preference to Saint-Germain, the office which the first exercised at Geneva so usefully for the party, affording a plausible pretence for excluding him from the deputation, without which it is probable he might be offended. He spoke of du Plessis, as of a man too obstinately attached to his own opinions, and able likewise to make himself be listened to and respected by Lesdiguieres; which seemed to the duke so important a point, that

he considered the want of that power in Bellujon almost as a crime. Bellujon, he allowed, had understanding, prudence, and address, and, next to Saint-Germain, had the best claim to the deputation. The perfect agreement between those two might indeed produce miracles; but Bellujon's attachment to Lesdiguieres was, in the opinion of Bouillon, a stain in his character which could not be effaced: he would have done better to have owned freely, that he was jealous of the reputation Lesdiguieres had acquired in the party. Another fault which Bouillon attributed, equally and without exception, to all the candidates for the office of deputy, was that attention they discovered to their own interest, which he considered as no objection, because of its being so general.

Bouillon next proceeded to speak of himself: and here vanity dictated every word. He informed Saint-Germain, that it was reported in Germany, that the king was desirous of being reconciled to him, and that Parabere or Montluet would be soon sent to him for that purpose; and, to remove all suspicions of the truth of this assertion, he sent him a letter which, he said, Montluet had written to him, in which he desired him to apply to some persons who might be able to effect a reconciliation between Henry and him. From all this Bouillon drew a thousand consequences, upon the consideration they had for him in Germany, the great advantages which the Protestant party received from him, and the fears with which he inspired the king and his council: he was not willing to leave his brethern in doubt, that he would not hear all the propositions his majesty made to him, through an apprehension that they were only snares which were laid for him, to de-

prive him of the authority he had acquired among the people. He passed lightly over the article of sending some person in his name to the assembly, and spoke of it as a thing subject to difficulties; and upon which it was necessary to consult Lesdiguières, du Plessis, and Saint-Germain. But he dwelt with a peculiar satisfaction upon the solemn assemblies which were held at his house, composed of all the most distinguished persons in Germany, asserting that the Protestant religion must necessarily receive the highest benefit from them. By the resentment he here discovered against Lesdiguières, it was judged that the latter had declared his sentiments of these so much boasted assemblies a little too freely; but the duke of Bouillon, to give a just idea of their extreme utility, assured his party, that the sole apprehension of what might be resolved upon there was sufficient to disturb Henry's repose, and make him use every method to gain him. He added, that he had been often reproached by the persons who composed these assemblies, with not having made the court of France sufficiently sensible of the advantages he possessed, and had received offers from them to take this trouble upon themselves; but that he had opposed this effect of their zeal, by representing to them (with wonderful modesty) that the jealousy which Henry entertained of him being the true cause of the difference between them, their intercession would have no other consequence than to augment that jealousy, and prejudice themselves, without serving him. The only method by which Henry could be brought to reason (which he insinuated was the opinion of this whole assembly of friends, as well as his own) was to reduce him, through fear of what he might undertake, to a necessity of granting them whatever they desired.

All the notice this very singular letter deserved (if it be granted that it deserved any) was, to make use of it to prevent some demands which it was probable might be made in the assembly; for, as to the rest, whom could Bouillon expect to impose upon by his arrogant boasts? There is no necessity for seeking any other proof than what these ridiculous rodomontades afford, that the seditious party had made no preparations, either within or without the kingdom, for a revolt; that they did not yet understand each others schemes, nor had come to any explanation concerning their common and general interest. With regard to this pretended new league in favour of the Protestants, there was good reason for thinking of it as Lesdiguieres did: in one word, that it was the mere invention of Bouillon. Caumartin never mentioned it in his letters to the king, although he had a conference with the landgrave of Hesse concerning every thing that related to the duke of Bouillon; and all the landgrave desired to know of him was, if the king had really employed Montluet in the expresses his majesty had sent to Sedan. The reason which induced the landgrave of Hesse to ask this question, was a report which had been spread in Germany, that his most Christian majesty was endeavouring to get possession of Sedan by surprise, and to abolish the reformed religion there. It was plain that this report was raised by Bouillon himself, who, taking occasion from thence to gratify his hatred of the king, insinuated at the same time, that this city was so strong, that Henry could have no hopes of taking it but by stratagem: this was, indeed, to possess the art of uniting together presumption, malice, and falsehood. All the duke of Bouillon's talents might be reduced to a

great fertility of invention, and consummate dexterity in spreading reports disadvantageous to his enemies. Of the same kind was that which prevailed concerning the resolution taken by the Swiss assembled at Baden, contrary to the interests of France, and which proceeded from the same person: it occasioned, for a short time, some apprehensions in the kingdom, as the business mentioned in the former year, in which the leagues of the Grisons were employed, still remained unfinished; but when it was found that Caumartin, who would not have failed to have informed the king of it immediately, if it had been true, was wholly silent concerning it, there was sufficient room to believe, that it was only an invention of those whose interest it was, to raise a belief that our affairs did not go on well in those cantons.

I could have wished, that his majesty had shewn the same contempt for the informations of those mercenary spies, whose numbers began to increase to such a degree, that they became chargeable to the government; and I freely own, that I regretted the large sums which were disbursed, to pay this kind of service, which, on account of the interest those from whom it was received were governed by, either with regard to themselves, to augment the garrisons of a city, or to procure a considerable gratuity, was greatly suspected by me. A certain man gave information of an assembly which had been held at Puy-Laurens in the Upper Languedoc; he gave in a memorial of what passed there, and likewise assured us, that he himself had been present. Another officer or soldier of Quercy prevailed upon Vivant to send him to the king, because he said he had been solicited by a friend of his at Sarlat to seize Domme in

Perigord; and declared the names of those who had spoken to them both upon this subject: this determined Henry to send Themines thither to seize the persons accused. All these informations were afterwards found to be either false, or excessively exaggerated. It was not my opinion that all precaution should be neglected; on the contrary, I was the first to advise the king to send some trusty persons to reside in Perigord and Quercy. The king, to whom I was not accustomed to speak in this manner, conceived great apprehensions from it, and I was obliged to assure him that I had received no bad news from either of these provinces.

But the method I would have preferred to all these little inquiries, as being both the shortest and most secure, was to give, from time to time, and as occasions offered, examples of severe punishment, as was the sentence against the Luquisses, two gentlemen of Provence. It was resolved at the arsenal, that, before I went away, an attempt should be made to seize them; for which purpose, the king made use of Ranchin, physician to the constable, who amused these disturbers of the public tranquillity so artfully, that the chevalier Montmorency seized nine or ten of the party altogether, with their two leaders, and confined them in the prison of Aiguesmortes: they were so indiscreet, that, amidst the confusion caused by their first surprise, they confessed themselves guilty of carrying on criminal correspondences with Spain. Henry, fully resolved to punish them, sent the chevalier de Montmorency and Ranchin, at their return from this expedition, to Chantilly, to tell the constable that he must come the next day and prepare matters for their trials. On this occasion the governor of Aiguesmortes and the sieur-

de Saint-Genis rendered considerable service. It was this plot which made his majesty renew his design of taking a journey this year towards Provence; and the report of an armament of galleys being fitted out by the Spaniards at Naples, was a second inducement. However, I saw no greater reason now for taking umbrage at this armament, than before, the Spaniards making almost the same preparations every year, on account of their trade to the Levant.

The king was again informed, that some of the leading men in the assembly sought only to prolong the time in useless debates, to the end that I might quit it through weariness, or that affairs of another kind might suffer by my absence; and that, to effect this, they had resolved to make use of several pretences, such as sending the deputies directly to the king to propose their demands, or to bear their general thanks, as if the assembly was looked upon as useless. Henry ordered Parabere, who was going to his government, to confer with me concerning this report, relying wholly upon my diligence to dispatch the business of the assembly with speed, but at the same time completely; to effect which I had already resolved to take measures, so much the more likely to succeed, as they flattered the vanity of the deputies. His majesty also commanded Parabere to assist me in my endeavours to discover the authors of those intrigues, but he would not venture to trust him with the secrets of most consequence; and even when he sent him to me to act in concert upon a certain memorial, he thought it necessary to send me this memorial by another hand, that I might have time to examine it, and take such measures as I thought proper, before the arrival of Parabere. Henry did not

act in this manner through an apprehension of his failing in his duty, but Parabere had one fault, which is only so with respect to politics, he could never believe ill of any one; and another, which is generally joined to the former, a readiness to contract friendships with all sorts of men, whether ill or well affected to the government: he was never moved with any thing that was said concerning the French faction; and as often as the king mentioned the duke of Bouillon in his presence, he never failed to justify his innocence, and attributed all the crimes that were alleged against him to the malice of his enemies. It was on account of this prepossession that his majesty discovered to Parabere all his displeasure against the duke, but assigned as the cause of it, his former practices only, without giving any hint to him of the more recent proofs he had of his disobedience; it was my part also, to regulate my conduct with Parabere upon this knowledge.

Setting aside all that was reported to the king, let us now see what really passed in the assembly. The first meetings were as tumultuous and disorderly as I had expected they would be: the disaffected party assiduously applied themselves to embitter the minds of others, and prepare them for revolt, because they thought it would be more difficult to inflame them afterwards, if they suffered the assembly to take a peaceable turn. They therefore had recourse to their accustomed arts, and industriously confirmed the false reports they had raised, that the king was going to abolish their privileges, cancel their synods, to take advantage of the present assembly, to declare all the pensions he was accustomed to give to the ministers of the Protestant religion struck off from the accounts of his revenues.

Henry, when he complained of the aversion of the Protestants for him, and for those whom he employed in affairs of state, used sometimes to say, that they deserved to be deprived of their pensions, offices, and governments. These words were reported to the assembly, as proceeding from a fixed resolution, and were construed into a positive declaration.

As I was not ignorant from what source these envenomed allegations proceeded, after having represented the falsehood of them, I resolutely opposed their making any demands in this assembly, in the name, or on the part of Bouillon, Lesdiguières, and du Plessis; nor would I suffer any person to speak there, but those who had a claim to that privilege, by their quality of deputies from the provinces. I caused it to be privately intimated to du Plessis, that I left it to his choice, either to stay voluntarily from the assembly at Châtelleraut, or to come there as a mere spectator, and as a private individual. This mortified him extremely; but he adopted the first expedient, either that, despairing of success, he was willing to avoid the blame of any resolutions taken in his absence, although contrary to all his schemes, or that he promised himself some resource, or perhaps vengeance, by procuring an insurrection in the assembly in his favour. In effect, he so engaged the deputies from Dauphiny in his interest, that they exclaimed, nothing could be done without him. But I took my measures so well, that I made the presence of du Plessis as unnecessary as that of Bouillon. From him I expected no less than such an instance of resentment; but that Lesdiguières should debase himself so far, as to act, by his emissaries, the part of a clamourer, in favour of a man so justly in dis-

grace with his majesty; he who lately had received a distinguishing favour for Créquy, his son-in-law; this was an instance of meanness and ingratitude which I could with difficulty pardon in him. On all these occasions I saw the utility of having taken proper steps, long before the meeting of the assembly, to secure to myself the best part of the votes.

In proportion as I saw my party gain strength, I exerted my authority; I cut short all trifling and subtile questions; I insisted upon their proceeding to business, and, above all things, to look upon every thing which related to the royal authority as sacred: the violation of that was what Henry most apprehended, and indeed his fears were not wholly groundless. It will be an eternal stain upon the reputations of Bouillon, du Plessis, d'Aubigné, Constant, Saint-Germain, and some others, more especially Lesdiguières, that they set their hands to a paper, the certainty of which has been but too well proved, wherein they lay the foundation of a Calvinist republic, free, and absolutely independent of the sovereign, in the heart of France. These terms, indeed, are not used in the writing; they seem to have industriously avoided them; but terms are of no consequence where the thing is plainly meant: and I ask those very persons, what was to be understood by the establishment of a body, the leaders of which were as closely connected with each other, as separated from every one else, and from the provincial councils, to which the supreme general council gives laws? What was meant by the assistance they there endeavoured to procure from foreign powers, the obligation they imposed upon all governors and men in public offices, to take certain oaths which were prescribed to them?

and, lastly, by their excluding the Roman Catholics, and officers particularly attached to the king, from any post, dignity, or employment in the new party? Du Plessis, who had apparently some reason to be apprehensive of my declaring to his majesty the share he had in this writing, thought it necessary, when the result of the assembly rendered the scheme ineffectual, not to incur the danger of being silent upon it; therefore, when he sent an apology to the king for not being present at the assembly, he added a formal disavowal of every thing contained in that paper.

This scheme was among the number of those whose execution it is necessary to hinder with as much caution as possible: I was willing therefore, to know whether a great part of the Protestant body were made acquainted with it, and continued to adhere to it: I mentioned it to the deputies, but in general terms, under the title of an association, and complained of reserve and distrust, which, however, I made them sensible was not wholly free from blame. Their answer was, that if Henry could live forever, the Protestants, satisfied with his word, would, from that moment renounce all precaution, resign their cautionary towns, refuse all offers of assistance from foreigners, and consider all particular regulations for the preservation of their community as useless; but that their fears of finding very different sentiments in his successors, obliged them to take measures for their own security. This frank confession gave me more pleasure than an artful answer would have done; for if the assembly had been concerned in the project, they not would have confined themselves to answer only the literal meaning of my words, but would have begun by refuting this reproach by every kind of protestations, and by a formal denial.

I was now convinced that the contagion of seditious discourse and wicked examples had not yet spread farther than to those six or seven persons whom I have named: but it was not so easy to make Henry believe it, or to remove his apprehensions that the evil would soon become general; he suffered himself to be greatly alarmed with that blind facility with which the populace receive every impression given them by those whom they look upon as their leaders and defenders, and the fatal consequence which might ensue from it, if, unfortunately for France, he should die while the dauphin was yet a child; he sometimes told me, that on this occasion, my particular interest was strongly connected with that of the public, as being one of the chief officers of the crown, and appointed lieutenant to the company of his second son, if God should give him one, as it soon after happened. But all things considered, what could Bouillon, wandering and despised, du Plessis with his pen, the Constants and the d'Aubignés with their tongues, be capable of doing against an authority so solidly fixed as that which Henry was now in a condition to leave to his son? The uncertainty of the royal succession had always been, in my opinion, almost the only danger he had to fear.

I mentioned this affair to the deputies of the assembly as opportunities offered, without postponing the principal one which I had brought first upon the carpet, which was the nomination of the particular deputies. The protestants claimed a right to nominate these deputies themselves, alleging, that his majesty was not concerned in it: but I convinced them of their mistake, by representing to them, that his majesty, as king, ought to have the principal part in an affair which had

so necessary an influence upon order and tranquillity, and was so closely connected with the civil government, that, upon the character of the deputies who were chosen, depended in a great measure, the good or bad intelligence between the two religions; and this I supported by an example drawn from the thing itself, which was, the artful and disingenuous conduct of some of those who had formerly exercised this employment.

To decide this combat of different opinions, I proposed that the assembly should determine upon a certain number of persons proper for this office, among whom the king should choose two he most approved of; and notwithstanding the repugnance I perceived they still had to this expedient, I did not despair of obtaining a compliance with it, as I had very considerable gratuities to dispose of to those who acted conformably to his majesty's intentions. But here Henry himself raised an obstacle, without attending to it: he had judged, by the unanimous opposition the assembly made to this point, that I would never be able to carry it, and therefore wrote to me to consent that the two deputies should be proposed, and chosen in concert by him and the Protestants, a concession which only increased the obstinacy of the assembly; for whether his majesty declared publicly the contents of his letters, or that those to whom he confided them did not keep his secrets, all the intentions of this prince were as soon and as perfectly known in the assembly, as in the council itself. Villeroi sent me notice of it, but I knew it before; for this cause I insisted that Sillery and he should always write to me with their own hands; a precaution which I observed myself, and was sometimes so much fatigued by it, that I was obliged to refer them both to the let-

ters I wrote to his majesty, which they took care afterwards to burn. However, I carried my point in the assembly; six persons were to be proposed to his majesty, from among whom he was to choose the two deputies: and I likewise managed it so as that in these six there should not be one who had given any public marks of disobedience or revolt. Henry looked upon this success as one of the most important services he could have received from me.

Some of the deputies requested, that a third deputy should be created, and this deputy to be always one of the Protestant ministers. It was said, that Berault used his utmost endeavours to obtain this office, and intended to come to the assembly for that purpose, though he was not one of the provincial deputies: he had also, it was confidently asserted, many schemes to accomplish, especially in favour of the duke of Bouillon: and he was the person who prevailed upon the assembly at Mauvessin,* to write to the duke, to assure him that the Protestant party in France had still, in all their proceedings, an eye to his person and interest. However, Berault, bold as he was, durst not show himself upon this occasion, and the proposal was absolutely rejected, as was likewise another, which three or four persons ventured to offer, that the Protestant party should choose deputies themselves, which were not to reside near the king, but in some parts of the chief provinces in the kingdom, and correspond immediately with the deputies-general at court. If this scheme had taken place, there would have been a necessity for redoubling our attention to the conduct of these subordinate deputies.

His majesty never made any objection to the quality of the deputies, provided they had the reputation of

* In Armagnac.

being men of probity and lovers of peace; and upon this, he carefully avoided every thing that had the appearance of constraint, as was evident when it was debated whether governors of fortresses might be appointed deputies; the king yielded to the arguments urged by the assembly for the negative: and also on the subject of la Nouë and du Coudrai, whom the Protestants would not have placed in the list, alleging the absence of the first, and the employment of the second; however, they all afterwards agreed upon la Nouë. As for me, I gave my vote for excluding Saint-Germain, notwithstanding the extreme desire they showed to have him continued with Bellujon, as his coadjutor. The king neither approved of the latter, nor even of Coudrai; but being willing to show some respect for Lesdiguières, he was inclined to choose the deputy from the province of Dauphiné. Des Bordes and Marabat, were also proposed; his majesty had a long time wished to do something for Marabat, although I assured him he was one of Bouillon's creatures; but he altered his intention, when Marabat, by imprudently sending his two children to the duke of Bouillon, left him no room to doubt of the truth of my assertions; and this alone was sufficient to exclude him from the deputation. Of all that were proposed for this office, there was not one who so well deserved to have all the votes in his favour, as an advocate of Castres, named la Devése: but the reputation he had justly acquired of virtue and impartiality, was alone sufficient to render him obnoxious to his brethren; he gained nothing but the honour of having merited the confidence of his king, who wrote him a letter which I delivered to him with the utmost secrecy, lest it should entirely ruin him in

the opinions of the Protestants. When I became better acquainted with him, I looked upon him as a man whose knowledge and abilities might be of great use to me. The remainder of July was spent in proposing, choosing, rejecting, or approving the different candidates.

The choice of the deputies continued to be debated with the same heat, during the first part of the following month. The assembly renewed their solicitations in favour of Saint-Germain and several others, to whom Henry would have even preferred Marabat; but as a detail of these disputes is not sufficiently interesting to deserve any longer time should be taken up with it, I shall conclude it at once, by saying, that la Nouë having promised his majesty, by Roquelaure and me, that he would break with the duke of Bouillon, and recal his children from Sedan, the king chose him from among the three persons proposed for the nobility, and du Gros from those for the crown, who had Lesdiguieres to solicit for him. This choice, which was very agreeable to Henry, and highly praised by his ministers themselves, was made very seasonably to stop the mouths of some slanderers, who reported that the king, after receiving a letter from me, appeared so greatly enraged, that it was evident his design did not succeed well under my management. One trifling letter served them for a pretext to propagate this story. In my answer to Villeroi, who sent me a copy of it, I told him, that there were no persons who gave so little credit to this report as those who spread it.

As to the success of this affair, the glory of which was attributed entirely to me, I shall freely own, without affecting a misplaced modesty, that I accomplished my designs by convincing the greatest part of the Protes-

tant body, that they might safely rely upon Henry's intentions and sentiments with respect to them, for the preservation of their persons and interests; and that those few examples of severity, or rather justice, which they complained of, were greatly disproportionate to the injuries he had received from them. I would not have it imagined, that by speaking in this manner, I gave the Protestants the least hint of those favourable designs for the party, with which the mind of Henry was then employed: to serve a prince at the expense of his secret was to betray him. I was even particularly cautious upon this subject with his majesty's ministers: and I do not know that I ever mentioned it in any of those letters I wrote to Henry himself, except one, in which I made some reflections upon the embassy to England, that were necessary to the subject I wrote upon: however, I earnestly entreated him to burn this letter, lest the same accident should happen to it as he knew had done to others.

What his majesty had most reason to complain of in the affair of the deputies, was, that his intention of appointing them himself, in the manner we have just seen, being signified to the assembly, seven Protestant provinces met together, and sent to consult du Plessis upon this resolution; a fault which Henry with good reason attributed to Constant and d'Aubigné. The last solicitation which was made by the Protestants on this subject was, that the duration of the deputies' service with his majesty should be regulated by them, and be expressed in the brevet of election by the king, or at least in the act of nomination: had this been granted, there would have been a necessity for renewing this ceremony every year, and for calling an as-

sembly for that purpose. These very motives induced the king to refuse it, for which I had already prepared them. At length they received the brevet in the form it was in, but not without returning many times to the charge.

II. The affair of the cautionary towns came next under consideration: although the term of eight years, expressed in the brevet of August 1598, given in consequence of the edict of Nantes, wanted yet a year of being expired, yet it was necessary to bring it upon the carpet this year, if we would avoid giving the Protestant party a pretext for holding an assembly the next. It is certain, however, that it would not have been proposed at Châtelleraut, on any other terms than to have this matter left entirely to the king, without requiring a promise for three or four years, or a new brevet from his majesty, but that the assembly should be informed in the same way I have just mentioned, not only that they might expect every reasonable indulgence from Henry, but also that I had actually at that time in my possession a brevet from his majesty for three years, and another for four: and it was upon this account, that the king found himself obliged to grant them a prolongation for four years. It may be alleged, that a year more or less was a very inconsiderable matter; and indeed Henry had no other view in laying a stress upon it, than to accustom them not to obtain whatever they should take it into their heads to demand, and to be contented with those favours he voluntarily granted them: as for what remained, there was nothing more certain than what I had said to them in the beginning of my speech to the assembly with regard to those forts. Henry permitted me to inform

the deputies, that it was at my solicitation he granted them this favour.

The two questions of the greatest importance being decided, the assembly might be looked on as at an end: but, as there were alterations to be made in the brevets, of which I was the bearer, his majesty would also have an article added, by which he declared, that the first eight years were to commence from the day on which the edict of Nantes was registered in the parliament. Some time, therefore, was taken up in composing these two brevets, and sending them to Châtelleraut.

During this time, the affair of Orange made noise enough to afford a subject for public discourse. In order to restore this place to the prince of Orange, its lawful master, it was necessary to withdraw Blacons,* who held it for the Protestants; and here the king made use of Lesdiguieres, but so unseasonably, that I believe all the difficulties which were found in the management of this affair, owed their rise to this choice: any one but Lesdiguieres, whom Blacons had reason to think his mortal enemy, might have easily effected it. Blacons, who had long expected orders to leave Orange, wrote to me, that nothing could prevail upon him to neglect obeying his majesty's commands immediately, but the mortification and disgrace of being obliged to yield his post to a man who would make that ceremony an occasion of triumph over him. In my answer to this officer, I thought I was entitled to give him hopes that his majesty would alleviate the bitterness of this order; and I flattered myself, that if I had been at court, the affair would have been ter-

* Hector de la Forêt de Blacons.

minated otherwise; but Henry did not write to me concerning it till he had sent Bullion and Bellujon with his commands of Lesdiguieres, which he informed me of in his letter, and desired I would send the necessary orders for carrying cannon to Orange. I suspected what had happened when I received this letter, and instantly acquainted the king with what I knew of Blaccons' sentiments. I advised, I even entreated him, to send only an inferior officer of his guards to Orange upon this occasion, without setting up Lesdiguieres against the man he hated.

My advice came too late; Lesdiguieres making use of the power the king had given him, listened to nothing but his hatred to Blaccons, and in an imperious manner signified his majesty's orders to the governor and inhabitants, adding of himself, that, if he did not obey them, he would give the king notice of it immediately. In the mean time, he wrote to his majesty, on the 24th of July, that he need not be under any apprehensions, because he knew how to reduce the governor of Orange without raising any commotions in the province. May it not be said, that Lesdiguieres was afraid he should not find resistance enough? Blaccons, who did not expect such an insult, instantly dispatched two couriers, one after another, to the king, to assure him, that he was ready to resign the place to any person his majesty thought proper, even although he were a Catholic. His views, by taking this step, were, to prevail upon the king to alter his resolution of sending Lesdiguieres, by the advice of those whose interest with his majesty he relied upon, and so suspend Lesdiguieres's march, who he did not doubt would be with him as soon as possible. Blaccons had

more enemies at court than friends; they thought this procedure showed a strong disposition to rebellion, and they inspired Henry with the same opinion, which was certainly not very kind and disinterested on their side.

The king, however, notwithstanding all the violent counsels that were suggested to him, would not proceed suddenly to extremities with Blaccons: he answered him by sending an inferior officer of his guards, who was a Protestant, with three or four archers of the guard, to signify to him, that, till further orders, it was his majesty's pleasure he should put the place as a deposit into the hands of this officer, and come himself to court, where he might depend upon receiving from his majesty the most honourable treatment, and all the satisfaction he could desire. Henry at the same time ordered Bullion to tell Lesdiguières, that if Blaccons submitted to this last order, he was to stay peaceably at Grenoble, and not to have recourse to force, except in case the governor should refuse to obey: for which purpose, he sent him commissions to raise ten companies, consisting of one hundred men each; to make use likewise of five companies of du Bourg's regiment, and to increase them from sixty to two hundred men, with cannon in proportion. All these preparations were made in consequence of the courtiers persuading his majesty, that Blaccons would not submit to his proposal. Lesdiguières, who had already sent the king word, that the cannon of his province of Dauphiny had no carriages, desired some might be sent to him; or rather, because that would take up too much time, that he should be furnished with cannon from the arsenal of Lyons,

which might be easily sent down the Rhone. It was apparent that he had no inclination to strip his own fortresses. Accordingly the king wrote to me to send orders to the lieutenant-general of the artillery of Lyonnois and Dauphiny, conformable to the demands of Lesdiguières. It must be confessed that the king, in his transactions with the Protestants, took such measures as might make it appear to them, that he was wholly guided by justice and moderation. But I could not approve of these extraordinary preparations, nor this needless expense; therefore, though I paid all the respect I ought to do to the orders his majesty gave me, yet I thought it my duty to oppose the desires of Lesdiguières, especially in what related to the cannon of Lyons, which seemed to be much better in that city than in any one of Dauphiny.

It appears strange to me, that Henry should be so long in perceiving that Lesdiguières only sought to be authorized in pursuing, with the utmost rigour, a man whom he hated with inveteracy. He did many things of his own authority, as soon as he thought he had some appearance of justice on his side; so that the state of affairs was quite altered before his majesty's couriers arrived. He was already at the head of a body of troops, within two leagues of Orange, from whence he haughtily summoned Blacons to receive him into the city. Bullion, when he returned from Dauphiny, endeavoured to justify Lesdiguières for taking this precipitate step (to call it no worse), saying, that he did it with an intention to begin immediately to make proper regulations in the castle, to disband part of the garrison, and send away some soldiers levied by the officers of the prince of Orange. It was not indeed

surprising, that Lesdiguieres should thus exceed his commission; Blaccons no longer viewing him in any other light than as an enemy, who prosecuted his own particular quarrel with him, gave him such an answer as obliged him to retire in some disorder to Montelimart. Lesdiguieres, fired with resentment at the disgrace this retreat brought upon him, observed no regard to truth in the letters he wrote to his majesty to inform him of all that had passed, but accused Blaccons of every thing his rage could suggest. Blaccons likewise sent a courier to his majesty, with complaints against Lesdiguieres; he accused him with having for a long time sought to make himself master of Orange, by means of a correspondence he carried on with a minister named Maurice. The friends of Lesdiguieres retorted this crime upon Blaccons, which they said they could prove by a letter he had written to his brother-in-law, at the very time that he was making protestations of obedience to the king; and that while he sent a polite message to Lesdiguieres, assuring him he was ready to receive him into the city, he was forming resolutions directly contrary. I will not answer for the truth of either of these accusations.

However that may be, whilst this quarrel delayed the conclusion of the affair of Orange, that of the assembly of Châtelleraut was terminated. The arrival of the two brevets, which his majesty had ordered Fresne to send me, gave great satisfaction to the assembly; they were dated August 4th, 1605. It appeared that the king granted them to the Protestants as a favour which ought to confirm them in the respect and fidelity they owed him. When I delivered them to the assembly, I declared that it was his majesty's pleasure they should break up, after first hearing from me the king's

last intentions, that the people might be no longer kept in suspense in the provinces, where I was sensible the different reports concerning the result of the assembly gave occasion for commotions equal to those when two parties are ready to come to blows. I enjoined the deputies, when they returned to their provinces, to give a sincere and candid representation of the manner in which the king and his ministers had acted and treated with them; and carefully to avoid that arrogant behaviour, and that propensity to slander, which they had shown in the assembly of Gap. I made a recapitulation of all the king's orders and demands, and justified each. I prevented their composing, before they separated, a new memorial of demands; and, in the king's name, expressly forbade them to call any general assembly without permission: I told them, that his majesty would never refuse them that favour when the occasion required it; but I made them sensible, at the same time, that they must not expect them to be so frequent for the future as they had been. I forgot not to add, that Henry did not thereby intend to prejudice in any manner their right of holding their ordinary conferences and synods, confined merely to affairs of religion; and concluded with repeating my prohibition to them, to hold any correspondence with persons suspected by his majesty. I was entirely satisfied with the inclinations I perceived in them; and was not deceived in my conjecture, that the assembly would propose to send a deputation to his majesty, to thank him for the indulgence he had shown them, and to assure him of their inviolable respect. They were desirous of first knowing, whether this step would be agreeable to his majesty; and the answer they received being such as they had

hoped for, the deputies appointed for that purpose set out for Paris to execute their commission.

I left Châtelleraut the same day that the assembly broke up, the king having ordered Sillery to acquaint me that I might do so; and often expressed his wishes for my return, and how necessary my presence was to him in the affairs of his council. This prince would write to me once more, though it was only to praise and thank me for the service which he said I had done him. But however solicitous he appeared for my return, yet he gave me permission to visit my estate of Berry, which I did not then think proper to do, because I would not accumulate more business than I was able to dispatch.

Such was the issue of the assembly, which had engrossed the attention of the whole kingdom. When I strictly examined my own sentiments concerning it, I found, that the despair into which my proceedings there had thrown some of my brethren, did not interrupt the joy I felt for my success; because I was convinced, that I had more effectually served my religion and them by moderate and peaceable measures, than they could have done by their blind and impetuous zeal. Du Plessis might possibly have felt the force of these reasonings in the letter I wrote to him; though my principal view in writing was to show him his errors. He justified himself in a very studied letter, which he likewise sent to the king, along with mine, to show that he had not left one of the heads of my accusation unanswered or uneffaced.

I went immediately to give an account of my conduct to the king. His majesty, when he left Monceaux, where he had some slight fits of the gout, had returned to Paris the latter end of July, from whence he went

to Saint-Germain to pass the beginning of August; he was there afflicted with a defluxion, which fell upon his cheek and teeth, but was cured immediately by having his gums lanced: this indisposition obliged him to drink the waters, and observe an exact regimen, which was his most effectual remedy. I found him at Fontainebleau, whither he had come from Saint-Germain; he embraced me twice with great tenderness, and permitted my secretaries and all my retinue to pay their respects to him; and after once more folding me in his arms, he led me into the long gallery of the garden of pines, where we had a conversation which lasted two hours.

His majesty began it by informing me of all the interesting news he had received from foreign countries, and afterwards of every thing that had passed during my absence, either in the council, in the affairs of the finances, or in the court, where his domestic quarrels, which were resumed with more violence than ever, made him often wish, he said, that I had been with him. He questioned me, in my turn, upon several particulars of my journey, especially concerning the dispositions of the Protestant churches and some of the heads of the party, whom he named to me, as I might now have a full knowledge of them. I gave him great joy by the proofs I brought him of a voluntary submission from those persons, which, in all the rest, secured to him an unavoidable obedience: I made it plain to him, that Lesdiguieres, whose troops, forts, money, and capacity, were greatly exaggerated, who disturbed the tranquillity of his master, through a fear that his equivocal conduct would terminate in open rebellion, was nevertheless so weak in every respect, that if his majesty, with an army of only six thousand men, marched

directly to him without stopping at any place, he would drive him immediately to his last entrenchment, where nothing could prevent his falling into his hands. At present it was not proper to proceed to such extremities with Lesdiguieres, as he had not yet given sufficient cause for it. I represented to the king, that it was now time, and of the utmost consequence for the extinction of the rebellion, to undertake something against the duke of Bouillon, by using only the precaution of not putting Protestant lieutenants into his towns, in the room of those who were leaving them; I engaged my word, that there was not one of those fortresses which would give us the trouble to batter it with our cannon.

These considerations determined Henry, although still with a little difficulty, to defer no longer his progress into the southern provinces of France, which has already been mentioned. His two motives for this journey, and for taking his route through Auvergne and Limosin, were to seize all the towns belonging to the duke of Bouillon, and make such severe examples of those who were convicted of conspiring against the state, as should stifle, for the future, all seeds of rebellion. For the first, he sent commissions to the duke d'Epemon to levy three thousand foot; he added a like number to his regiment of guards, and gave orders, that a squadron of eight or nine hundred disciplined companies of horse, as well gendarmes as light-horse, should be got ready to accompany him: for the second, he proposed to hold an extraordinary court, the arrets of which he designed to have published, and executed by a chamber of justice which he carried along with him, that nothing might retard the course of his justice. These terrible preparations were indeed absolutely necessary in the provinces, where it seemed as if the con-

tagious air of civil broils was concentrated, when it was entirely dissipated every where else: this step likewise was necessary to bring the business of Orange to a conclusion; nor could it be made in a more favourable time, the affairs of Flanders and England this year affording him leisure, but which could not be of long duration.

I observed to the king, that since it was necessary this journey should be terminated before the end of the month of October, it ought not to be delayed a moment longer. Henry still thought I pressed him too much: however, he at length resolved upon every thing. It was agreed between us, that his majesty should march along the Loire with his troops, both horse and foot, while I, with a train of artillery consisting of two cannons, two culverins, and two demi-culverins, should march by Montrond, which is the direct road. I left to Henry's directions every thing that related to the troops, and returned myself to Paris, to settle the affairs of the council with all possible expedition, and to name the members of the chamber *des grand jours*,* whom it was necessary to send away first.

At court, and in the council, it was supposed this journey would terminate in the same manner as that to Provence had done the year before. The orders which were given for so sudden a departure, in a season still farther advanced, furnished the indolent and sensual courtiers with a thousand new arguments against it; but when they saw that Henry was inflexible, they prepared to follow him, often cursing the man whom they supposed had given him the advice: but it threw

* An extraordinary sessions, called by virtue of the king's commission or letters patent.

the duke of Bouillon's partisans into the utmost consternation, who had not, as may be easily imagined, used any endeavours to divert the storm. La-Chapelle-Biron,* and Giversac, who were most faithfully devoted to him, as having received the most Spanish gold, intreated the sieur de Foussac† to go to court, and assure his majesty that they were ready to give him any testimony of their obedience which he should require: the people of Turenne only made any show of resistance; Rignac‡ and Bassignac threw themselves into that place, provided it with ammunition, and lodged all the artillery in it upon the plat-forms. These advices were sent to his majesty by Foussac and Baumeville, who dispatched the seneschal de Brive with them; but all this was executed with so much terror and dismay, that the king, who had given d'Epemon and Roissy§ orders to advance thither before him with their troops, did not think it necessary to strengthen them with the regiment of guards, as he had at first intended.

Foussac gave also some other informations, conformable to what had been said by Rodelle, concerning the state of the revolt in the provinces of Limosin, Perigord, and Quercy; and by him it was discovered, that the true cause why a great many gentlemen did not come and throw themselves at his majesty's feet, as they had intended, was, that l'Aubagnac had been sent from Sedan, to dissuade them from taking that step; and that many of them had also lately received consi-

* Charles de Charbonnieres, sieur of La-Chapelle-Biron—Mark de C'aignac, sieur of Giversac.

† Raimond de Sognac, sieur de Foussac.

‡ Peter de Rignac—Gideon de Bassignac or Vassignac.

§ John-James de Mesines, lord of Roissy.

derable sums of Spanish money, which had been distributed among them by Guienne. The duke of Bouillon, in whose name this money was given, recommended it to them, at the same time, not to be discouraged or alarmed at the preparations which were making against them, since he engaged his word to make things take another turn before October; and that his friends (those were his terms) should see him sooner than they hoped, and his enemies sooner than they desired: these sounding expressions effectually imposed upon them. Foussac, however, assured the king, that there had not come more than ten or twelve thousand crowns from Spain; but Bouillon always supplying the want of money with confidence, had given them to understand, that this small sum was sent to them to be distributed amongst their subaltern friends, and that other sums far more considerable were reserved for them: they were simple enough to believe him, and after this no longer talked of soliciting for a pardon. The king ordered two hundred crowns to be given to Foussac for the expenses of his journey, and sent him back to continue on the spot.

III. The king left Paris on the 15th or 16th of September,* escorted by the regiment of guards, and the squadron I have already mentioned, and began his march towards Orleans, while I took the rout before agreed on. He had not got farther than Hallier, before he saw the good effects of his journey: two gentlemen of Quercy, named Causse and Brigantin, came to meet him at this place, to implore a pardon for them-

* In regard to this journey of Henry IV to the Limosin, see de Thou, b. 24, the *Mercure François*, anno 1605, and the original of a letter wrote by Henry IV to M. de Rosny. *Letters de Henry le Grand*.

selves, and a hundred and twenty other gentlemen; and that they might in some degree merit it, they offered to discover, in a court of justice, all that they knew of Bouillon's proceedings, and maintain the truth of their depositions with the points of their swords, and at the expense of their blood. These two deputies revealed likewise all the plots which had been carried on by Rignac and Bassignac, in the duke of Bouillon's favour; among others, that of seizing Villeneuve in Agenois, for which Bouillon had not the least plausible pretext. It being at this place that his majesty had first received notice of the attempts made by d'Entragues, to deliver the count d'Auvergne from his confinement in the bastille, as I have related in order; he desired me to meet him at Orleans, which he expected to reach the next day, being Saturday, September 24th, advising me to send the artillery in the mean time to Argenton, through which place he proposed to pass. These orders, however, were not executed, it being impossible for me to go to Orleans: his majesty approved of my reasons; and I gave him in writing the advice he demanded of me, which was conformable to those measures I had always solicited him to pursue with regard to d'Entragues.

Henry arrived at Orleans on the appointed day, and left that city on Monday the 26th of September: he avoided the road through Berry and Sologne, on account of the scarcity of provisions in that barren country, and the diseases which he was told prevailed there; he therefore marched towards Blois, and from thence to Montrichard, again appointing a rendezvous with me at Loches, expressing an earnest desire to confer with me personally upon the present state of

affairs. Hitherto he had not received any marks of submission from the duke of Bouillon; on the contrary, the resistance of Rignac and Bassignac in Turenne and Sinceraï,* was confirmed. From Metz he had advices, that Bouillon would have assistance from another quarter; the elector palatine, it was said, had, upon the report of the king's expedition, sent for his colonels and captains, and the governor of Luxemburg was making preparations and assembling forces. D'Epernon incessantly pressed the king to advance, and demanded, with some kind of displeasure, officers and provisions for the recruits, which he said he had raised with great difficulty. His majesty referred this business to me, desiring that I would give proper directions thereupon to d'Escures, or the other officers and inhabitants of those places: and with regard to Bouillon, he held himself prepared for resistance, although he hitherto saw no appearance of it.

In effect, this prince had scarce reached Blois before he received a courier from the duke of Bouillon, who brought him a letter dated from Sedan, September the 20th, in which, after making his usual protestations of grief for having offended his majesty, and of his intentions to repair his fault at the price of his blood, he declared, that he had never entertained the least thought of disobeying his orders, or resisting his person; that he had given an absolute command to his lieutenants to receive him into all his towns and castles, a needless order, he added, since there was not one person belonging to him who did not look upon his majesty as his sovereign master; that he desired nothing more ardently than to have brought him the keys

* Or Saint-Seré.

himself, and, with the utmost humility, implore to be again received into his favour. The king appeared satisfied with this procedure of Bouillon: however, he represented to him, that he ought to have sent Rignac and Bassignac, against whom such heavy crimes were alleged, to justify their conduct personally. Blanchard was the man whom Henry was most desirous of seeing, as there was no person in the world who had a greater share of Bouillon's confidence, he being his steward, or was better acquainted with the steps of the whole party; but he did not appear: Henry therefore thought he ought not to discontinue his march, at least till he came to Limoges, that he might see how far the duke of Bouillon's lieutenants would carry their obedience. However, Blanchard arrived at Blois before his majesty left that city; and what added to the king's satisfaction, he came voluntarily, and with an intention to obtain his pardon by making a faithful confession of all he knew.

In effect, Blanchard unfolded the whole mystery of the plot; he acknowledged, that, seconding with all his power the bad intentions of the duke his master, he had been always obliged to have recourse to the mean artifice of exaggerating facts, enlarging views, and making promises a thousand times greater than he well knew could ever be performed; so that the execution of their designs had always been as remote, as they had affected to say it was near. This deposition of Blanchard appeared to his majesty to be of such consequence, that he ordered him to give it him in writing. He began at length to be convinced of the justness of my opinion, which he had so long opposed, namely, that the duke of Bouillon's party made all this noise, only

because they could do nothing more. Notwithstanding this, Henry would neither stop nor lay down his arms, till his will was complied with, without any restriction. He remembered that it was said among the Protestants, that the places the duke of Bouillon possessed did not belong more to him, than to the whole party, having been given as cautionary towns, and held as such by officers of the reformed religion: he feared, therefore, that he might make use of this pretext to keep them, and thought it the securest way not to disband his troops, till Villepion, whom he had appointed to take possession of Turenne in his name, had been received into that capital of Bouillon's. I had written to la Caillaudiere that he might disband the cavalry: his majesty made me revoke this order; and in the beginning of October, he left Blois and proceeded to Tours, having again altered his design of marching through Montrichard and Loches.

The conveniency of the river and of the castle of Plessis, determined the queen, who had attended his majesty to Blois, to go as far as Tours with him. The king, when he informed me of this alteration in his march, sent me word that, as soon as her majesty should leave him to return to Paris, he would continue his rout though la Haye as far as Châtelleraut, where I had appointed to meet him; all which was accomplished. In proportion as his majesty advanced, all difficulties fell before him: Villepion was received into Turenne without the least disturbance; and before Henry reached Limoges, the whole of the other towns depending on the duke of Bouillon were yielded in the same manner to the officers his majesty sent thither to represent his person. All this was conformable to the

duke's example, who continued to declare loudly, that he had no hand in the commotions of the province, and that he had been accused through mere calumny. Bassignac distinguished himself by his obstinacy; for, cutting his beard, and disguising himself, he fled through Geneva to Sedan.

III. Nothing more remaining to be done by arms, the chamber *des grands jours* began the exercise of its office: the king would not wait for the conclusion; he was weary of Limoges, after a stay of eight days there, namely to the middle of October, and returned post to Paris. He left me in this province, invested with his authority, as well in criminal matters as for disbanding the troops, which kept me ten days behind him. We went back to the source of the rebellion, by endeavouring to discover the first authors of it; and so successful were our inquiries, and the effects of them, that all remained peaceable for the future. It was thought sufficient to behead ten or twelve of the most active of the rebels, among whom, those of greatest note were the two Luquisses, gentlemen of Languedoc, who have been already mentioned; and Meirargues,* a kinsman

* Lewis d'Alagon, or rather Lagonia, baron of Meirargues, was arrested at Paris, in the monastery of Saint-Germain, together with the Spanish ambassador's secretary, and beheaded on the 19th of December; his body was quartered, and fixed over the principal gates of the city, and his head was carried to Marseilles, where it was fastened on the top of a pike over the chief gate. The king ordered the Spanish secretary to be set at liberty, without waiting for the determination of the question, at that time strongly debated, whether it was right to give up to the course of justice, an ambassador, resident, or any other foreign minister, who violates the law of nations. MSS. Royaux, 8477. See also the discussion of this question, and Henry IV's discourse on this occasion to the Spanish ambassador, in *Mem. de Nevers*, Vol. II. p. 858. *Matthieu*, Vol. II. book iii. p. 689, and other historians.

of the Joyeuses; the former for having undertaken to deliver up Narbonne to the Spaniards, and the latter Marseilles. I have no reason to doubt, but that, after these examples of rigour, the hatred of the Protestants against me was wound up to its utmost pitch. I cannot but complain of this unjust prejudice, which however did not extend to all: Theodore Beza was my friend, and his approbation alone was sufficient to comfort me for the causeless malice of a thousand others. This venerable old man, who exercised the function of pastor at Geneva, was seized with an illness towards the latter end of this year, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. During the great eclipse of the sun,* which has rendered this year memorable, his illness, which, till then, was but slight, increased so greatly, that he survived only a few days: he preserved, till the last moment, the full force and vigour of his mind, in a body weakened by infirmities and exhausted by age; he ordered his attendants to lift him out of his bed, and then, with the utmost fervour, he offered up his prayers to God, and in the most earnest and pathetic manner exhorted all those who were present to a performance of

* This eclipse happened on the 2d of October, according to M. de Thou, and on the 3d, according to the *Mercure François*, at one o'clock in the afternoon: it continued two hours, and for half an hour there was a total darkness. Le Grain says, that, during an hour and an half, one could with difficulty read or write without a candle. L'Etoile was not freer than M. de Sully from the popular prejudices, in regard to eclipses: "Many strange maladies of different kinds," says he, "raged in Paris at that time; and, together with the eclipse, which happened on the 2d of this month, eclipsed many persons, who have never been seen since: dysenteries, especially, were very dangerous and mortal to those who happened, to be attacked by them, and more in other places than at Paris: few of them escaping." Anno 1605. The same author says, that Beza died the day after the eclipse.

the duties of religion and holiness; after which, he was again laid in bed, where he expired without pain, nature being quite worn out: he did not forget me in his last moments; and thinking that he owed me some acknowledgment for the visit I paid him at Geneva, and the service I did him, when I presented him to his majesty at the head of the other deputies from that city, he desired Deodati to present a book to me in his name, entitled, *The Treasure of Piety*: this was the New Testament, translated by him, with notes, which, together with the other versions, both ancient and modern, formed a complete work: this he inscribed to me, and in the epistle dedicatory gave free scope to the favourable sentiments he entertained of me. Deodati punctually performed his last commands, and in the month of November sent me the book, with a letter, from whence these circumstances are taken.

I shall conclude my relation of his majesty's journey with that of a quarrel which happened between me and the count of Soissons, followed by another with the duke d'Epemon. The count having taken offence at something which the king had done or said to him when he left Paris, thought proper to revenge himself upon me. I had, as has been before observed, left my train of artillery, to take the direct road to Limoges, that I might meet his majesty at Châtelleraut. The count of Soissons ordered his harbinger to go to the quarter-masters, who were then employed in marking out the king's lodgings, and ask them which was reserved for me, and to take possession of it for him, in spite of all opposition. This was not so easy to be done as said. A great number of gentlemen of the province, who knew the rights of a governor as well as

myself, being present when the count's harbinger was preparing to execute his orders, they prevented him, without even acquainting me with what they had done. The count did not fail to complain immediately to the king of this indignity, which he said his honour was concerned to resent; and, as an aggravation, added, that I had caused his harbingers to be beaten.

The king, who knew his temper, gave him but little satisfaction; but the count made so much noise, and asserted the fact so positively, that Henry sent d'Escures to me to know the truth. All I knew of the matter, which I told him, was, that upon receiving information of what was doing, I went to the place destined for my quarters, where I found above fifty Poitevin gentlemen, who all together exclaiming against the unjustifiable procedure of the count's harbinger, had made use of threats to prevent his going farther. The count of Soissons still insisted, that it was a designed insult upon him, and demanded justice of the king. He found none to take his part; and Henry, by all the arguments he could think of, endeavoured to convince him that his complaint was groundless: he told him, that all governors have a right in their provinces to take place of every one but the king; and that I, as master-general, had the additional right of claiming the next quarters to the king, when he marched in the body of the army; therefore it could be no encroachment to have only part of those quarters, when the whole is at the disposal of the master-general; no one pretending any right, or fixing on any part of it for himself, without my permission; and for this reason the quarter-master had put to mine the "accustomed mark which secures his to the king; namely these words, *For the king*: the count of Soissons' harbinger

therefore ought, through respect, to have abstained from his attempt.

None of these reasons having any weight with the count of Soissons, it was necessary that Henry should think of some expedient to satisfy us both; and this expedient was, that when I came, as usual, to pay my respects to him, I should make my compliments likewise to the count, and offer him, through mere politeness, my quarters; which the count, returning my civility, should refuse: this was accordingly done, but it was on my part only; for the count, making use of a mean artifice, from whence he afterwards derived a still meaner occasion for boast, suffered me to make all these advances, without any return on his side, and took possession of my quarters, because I could not decently unsay what I had said. But his joy, and the railleries which enhanced it, lasted only till the next day.

As he was passing through the street where I lodged, followed only by two gentlemen, (for he was going to hunt along with his majesty) he found the street filled with gentlemen, to the number of two hundred, who were waiting till I came out to mount my horse, and who, as soon as they saw him at a distance, crowded together, as if for diversion, so close, that they left no passage for the count; and his equerry, not being able to open him one, was obliged to cry out, *Make way, gentlemen, make way for monsieur the count!* but they, raising their voices all together, talked so loud, and so confusedly, that the equerry could not make himself heard; some of them muttering at the same time, that it was never known that a governor of a province was dispossessed of his lodgings in a place where he represented the king's person. The count was obliged to wait a quarter of an hour before he

could get room to pass; and for a farther aggravation of his misfortune, not one of these gentlemen saluted him. This was a new subject for complaint to the king. His majesty told him, he was sorry for what had happened, but could do nothing for him, since he must not expect that, in complaisance to him, he would make inquiries among four or five hundred gentlemen for the persons who had offended him, when he could point out no particular one; they at the same time supposing they had some right to take this revenge upon him, for an insult injurious to them all.

The count of Soissons found no one to take part in his resentment but the duke d'Ep^{er}non, who was himself then violently enraged against me on the following occasion: the Rochellers hearing that his majesty would pass near their city in his march, sent a deputation to him of their chiefest citizens, as a mark of their gratitude and respect. I was the person to whom they applied; the king therefore ordered me to conduct them to the audience, which he gave them in the presence of the whole court: they told his majesty they were come to intreat he would honour their city with his presence, since he was so near it; assuring him, that although he was at the head of an army of Catholics, he should not be received with less respect and submission, than when he came formerly at the head of the Protestant troops; and that if their gates were not wide enough to admit him and his train, they would throw down three hundred fathoms of their wall, since his repeated bounties had enabled them to rebuild it. They then presented the keys to him, with such sincere expressions of joy and affection, that the king was melted even to tears, embraced them thrice, and afterwards, entering into a familiar conversation with them on past times, assured

them, that in him they might always depend upon finding a protector of their liberty, and a zealous preserver of their privileges.

As I was going out at the conclusion of this ceremony, I met the duke d'Epernon, who coming to wait upon the king, asked me what was doing? and I, without reflecting upon his question, answered it directly: but I was surprised to see, at the recital I made him, his countenance overspread with rage and disdain; and, a moment after, to hear him ask me, haughtily, whether I assumed any right in the government of Rochelle? and by what claim I took upon myself to present the deputies from that city to the king? I never thought it any meanness to give my friends satisfaction, in cases where my conduct might appear doubtful to them; I therefore told him, that it was in the quality of an old friend of that city, and by his majesty's command, that I had presented the deputies to him. He replied, with the same emotion as at first, that Rochelle being comprehended in his patent of governor, the king, the Rochellers, and I, had equally injured him. I could not help telling him, that the Rochellers would look upon his pretensions as very singular, but that it was from them, or rather from the king, that he was to desire an explanation, and not from me, since I had only acted by his majesty's orders, and without any intention to encroach upon the rights of other persons. Saying this, I quitted him coolly, and he went to the king to tell him the cause of his disgust: he returned more dissatisfied than he went, and all the resource he had, was to mingle his grievances and complaints with those of the count of Soissons. The malicious things they said of me on this occasion, and of which I had convincing proofs, was the cause that I afterwards, took

d'Onano's part in a quarrel which happened between him and d'Epernon, during the king's stay at Limoges. This still more increased d'Epernon's rage, and a third subject of discontent completed the rupture between us: he demanded assignments for the payment of the bread, furnished by the cities and large towns for the soldiers he had levied. I thought it my duty, before I complied with this request, to acquaint the king, who knowing as well as myself that this money would remain in d'Epernon's purse, instead of being delivered to those to whom it belonged, gave me orders to refuse him. This was the rock upon which our reconciliation, our mutual promises of friendship, and those connexions which had been capable of giving umbrage to the king, were all split and destroyed.

At my return from Limoges, I went to give his majesty an account of the use I had made of that authority he had confided to me: we had now a longer conversation together, than at my return from Châtelleraut, and upon the very same subject, policy, and the quarrels at court. I found him this time also at Fontainebleau, whither he had gone to pass the month of October and part of November; the queen was there also: the king and she met as they entered the court, she in her litter, and he on horseback, for he had rode post. Here he lost la Riviere, his first physician, whom he greatly regretted: he gave his post to du Laurens,* who was already first physician to the queen; and looked out for another for her

* Andrew du Laurens was the fourth principal physician, whose death Henry IV had seen since his accession to the crown; and as he also died four years afterwards, Petit, a physician of Gien, who succeeded him, was the fifth. M. de Sully being entreated to procure du Laurens' office for Turquet, one of the physicians in ordinary to the king, who was a Protestant, answered, "I have taken an oath never to recommend either a physician or a cook to the king."

majesty. I did not stay long at Fontainebleau; a thousand different affairs called me to Paris, where Henry had consideration enough to leave me a long time, without commanding my attendance on him.

I have yet mentioned but some part of those affairs queen Margaret had to communicate to me, in our interview at Cercote. As she proposed to quit her castle of Usson and reside in Paris, she was desirous of having my advice upon this occasion, and to know if she should be well received at court; whither it was necessary she should go, to prove that she did nothing without his majesty's consent. I assured her, that their majesties would receive her with the utmost respect; for I was well acquainted with their sentiments in regard to her. A bare assurance would not satisfy her; she insisted upon my engaging my word as a security, which I did without any hesitation; and she, on her side, promised to be governed wholly by my advice. After these mutual engagements we separated; I took the road to Châtelleraut, and Margaret that to the castle of Madrid, where she intended to lodge.

Henry, besides the inclination he had to oblige this princess, who well deserved that he should contribute to her satisfaction, had another reason for consenting that she should leave Usson.* He was extremely desirous of having this old castle in his own possession, as its situation, in a very suspected country, might make it one day a convenient retreat for the rebels, as the

* She had lived there near twenty years. On her leaving Agen, from whence she made her escape disguised in the habit of an ordinary citizen, riding behind Lignerac, she went to live at Carlat a castle belonging to a gentleman called Martas. The marquis de Canillac carried her off from this castle, and shut her up in the castle of Usson, which place pleased her so much, that she fixed her abode there, though she was left at liberty to quit it whenever she thought proper.

castle of Carlet had been. The king proposed to throw down this castle if it should not be judged worth preserving; for this purpose, he ordered me to send a faithful and intelligent commissioner to the castle of Usson as soon as queen Margaret should leave it, and to give him exact information of the condition it was then in, but that he should not discover with what intention he went. However, la Varenne, coming soon after from queen Margaret, declared to Henry, that it would give her great trouble, if the castle of Usson was demolished so soon after her departure; upon which the king wrote to me to defer sending the commissioner thither till he had seen that princess. This second order would have come too late, if, happily, the person whom I had resolved to employ, and who was one of the best engineers in the whole body of the artillery, had not been indisposed, which obliged him to put off his journey for some days.

The arrival of queen Margaret and the kind reception it was known Henry prepared to give her, occasioned some of those idle slanders which the foolish populace are so fond of propagating. The wisest way being to seem ignorant of them, the king made no alterations in those honours he was resolved to pay her. As soon as she came to Paris, he sent M. de Vendôme, and Roquelaure, to pay his compliments to her, till he could visit her in person, for he was then at Monceaux, from whence he set out for that purpose: the queen also sent Châteauneuf in her name. On the 26th of July, Henry went in person to visit her at Bois de Boulogne,* where she then was, having only passed

* From thence she went to live in the palace of Sens, near l'Ave-Mary: she afterwards hired a palace in the suburb Saint-Germain opposite to the Louvre, where she continued till her death. This princess has been so

through Paris. His majesty went at seven o'clock in the evening, and returned at ten. This interview passed with equal satisfaction on both sides. The king spoke of the castle of Usson to Margaret: she consented to what he proposed; and, in that whole affair, he never did any thing without first knowing whether

much abused in the libels of that time, that one might be induced to accuse M. de Sully of partiality, in the praise he every where bestows on her in his *Memoirs*, if his testimony were not confirmed by our best historians. The author of *l'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils*, on their authority, speaks of her in the following manner. "Her degradation in point of rank, was so amply made up by her goodness and the royal virtues she possessed, as to render her still greatly respected. Like a true heiress of the illustrious house of Valois, she never bestowed a gift on any one, without making an apology for giving so little; she was the refuge of men of letters, loved to hear them talk, her table was constantly surrounded with them, and she learned so much from conversing with them, that she spoke better than any woman of her time, and wrote more correctly than most persons of her sex are capable of doing. In short as charity is the queen of all virtues, this great princess crowned her's by giving alms, which she did with so liberal a hand to all who stood in need of them, that there was not a religious house in Paris which did not feel the effects of her bounty, nor one poor person who had recourse to her that did not meet with relief; therefore God out of his mercy repaid her, with usury, for that which she shewed to his people, giving her grace to make a truly christian end," &c. Vol. I. p. 326. This is surely sufficient to compensate for a small number of levities and human weaknesses, which are the utmost of what this princess could ever be charged with. If any one is desirous of seeing further what has been written for or against her on this head, let him read *Messieurs de Thou*, *Dupleix*, *Mezerai*, father *Daniel*, father *Hilarion de Coste's* eulogium of illustrious ladies, *Bassompierre*, *M. Bayle's* dictionary under the word *Usson*, and an infinity of other writers. She died on the 27th of March, 1615, at her palace in the *Fauxbourg-Saint-Germain*, which has since been demolished; she was interred in the church of the reformed *Augustins*, since called the little *Augustins*, which had been founded by her. "She was greatly regretted," says the *Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis*, "being a princess abounding in goodness of heart, eagerly fond of the welfare and repose of the state, who did no harm to any one besides herself." These few words, I apprehend, are sufficient to give us the perfect idea we ought to form of her character, and sufficiently agree with what M. de Sully says of her.

it would be agreeable to her. On the 28th of the same month she came to Paris, to pay her respects to the queen, who came to the Louvre to receive her: she afterwards, on the 4th of August, went to Saint-Germain to see the dauphin, and staid there four or five days with their majesties. Henry had no greater pleasure than the company of his children, as his frequent journies to Saint-Germain sufficiently proved. Queen Margaret returned to Bois de Boulogne on the 11th of the same month, greatly affected with their majesties' obliging behaviour to her.

By the orders which she gave to her officers who remained at Usson, Barenton, who was sent thither by his majesty, found no opposition, and was put in immediate possession of the castle. He drew up a memorial of the state in which he found it, and brought it to the king, who, persisting in his resolution of dismantling the castle, ordered me to send thither an engineer or commissary of artillery as soon as possible for that purpose. I was commissioned to thank queen Margaret in his name, for the cheerfulness with which she had made this sacrifice, and to pay her the full value of all the stores and ammunition which were found at Usson, which she had destined for the payment of the garrison she maintained there, if she did not rather choose to give her soldiers these stores and provisions themselves.

IV. I shall conclude the memoirs of the present year with an article, which I am already certain will have the approbation of all just and sensible persons; and for which I am also as secure of their acknowledgments. In all the principal cities of the kingdom, especially those which have arsenals and academies, there are also schools for the young nobility, in which

are taught all kinds of sports and exercises, as well military, as those designed merely to form a graceful carriage, and give strength and activity to the limbs: and these exercises are no where more carefully cultivated than at Paris, where the spacious courts of the arsenal, destined to this use, are full almost every hour in the day. I was always of the same opinion as Henry concerning these exercises: he often asserted, that they were the most solid foundation, not only of discipline and other military virtues, but also of those noble sentiments, and that elevation of mind, which give one nation the pre-eminence over every other. I used to be present at them myself, when I could steal a moment from business, as well through the taste I had for such amusements, as because I thought my presence would excite a laudable emulation amongst the youth.

One afternoon in carnival time, when these sports were most frequent, I left my closet to shew myself to this assembly of young men, and came very seasonably to prevent the consequences of two quarrels, which, from that mistaken notion of honour to which France has made herself a slave, were likely to have been very fatal. These quarrels had taken their rise from a trifle, as it generally happens with the greatest part of those which have been followed by the most bloody catastrophes; but the king (I am grieved to say it) took so little care to enforce the observation of the edicts published by some of his predecessors, against the barbarous custom of duelling, that every day, and on the slightest occasions, some blood was shed.

I thought it my duty to endeavour to convince these young men, who crowded about me, of the error they were in with regard to true valour: "It is," said I to them, "in the field of battle, and in actions which have

“the service of our country in view, that courage is permitted to be shown; that which arms us against our friends, or countrymen, in contempt of all laws as well divine as human, is but a brutal fierceness, madness, and real pusillanimity.” I perceived that the moral I endeavoured to inculcate appeared very strange to these young men, who were carried away by the heat of blood, and the ardour of youth: one of them, who, it was apparent, sought to give himself consequence with his fellows, replied, that princes having at all times permitted, nay authorised duels, they had passed into custom, which held the place of law.

I contented myself for the present with making the youth sensible that he supported his argument upon false and erroneous principles, and with preventing the challenge from proceeding any further; but as soon as I retired, I gave free course to my reflections upon the singularity of an abuse, unknown to the most polished, and at the same time bravest people. These reflections, when thrown upon paper, composed a kind of memorial, which I thought it my duty to present to the king

Duels, it is true, are of long standing in France, and indeed throughout Europe, but in that part only which has been overwhelmed by barbarians, from whose time this hateful custom takes its date, and appears therefore to be derived from them; and if histories of times more remote, such as that of the emperor Otho the first, and of the divorce of Lothario, afford some instances of single combat, they may be opposed by prohibitions of equal antiquity, whether ecclesiastical, (as that of the council of Valentia in 855,) or secular. We have in France a very ancient edict, which forbids them in all civil causes, and in criminal causes limits them to five cases; high treason, rape, house-burning, murder, and

nightly thefts. Saint Lewis* afterwards took away all restriction; and when Philip the fourth, his grandson, seemed to restore them in 1303, in charges of state crimes, rapes, and house-burning, to which he reduced them, he was incited only by a motive at once deserving praise and censure; the hope of abolishing insensibly this custom of bloodshed, which had gathered strength in his time, by confining it to these rare cases set down in a positive law: to make this more evident, he forbade all manner of persons to allow them, by receiving what was called pledges of battle, and declared this right reserved to himself alone.

To show, by explaining the difference between the ancient duels and those of our time, what a number of nameless abuses have crept into a practice, which itself was from its origin a corruption, it will be sufficient to lay down the circumstances and formalities which were observed in those times.

In the first place, no person, however, offended, could take vengeance in his own right, and, as it is now practised, in the first emotion of caprice and passion, and much less in mere bravado, which, in my opinion, is of all things the most contrary to the laws of society. They had their judges, before whom he who thought himself injured in his honour, was to give an account of the wrong suffered, and demand permission to prove, in the way of arms, that he did not

* On the subject of these edicts of Saint Lewis and Philip the Fair, as also of the origin, manner, and whatever has relation to single combats, consult the writers who treat of it; such as Paul de Montboucher, sieur of la Rivaudiere, in his Treatise on the Ceremonies and Laws of Challenges and single Combats, &c. in 1608; John Savaron, sieur of Villars, in his Treatise against duels, with the edict of Philip the Fair, in 1610; Brantôme, in the tenth volume of his Memoirs, entitled *Touching Duels*; d'Audiguier, du-Piex, Ruauld, Basnage, &c. and many other Italians

lay upon his enemy a false accusation. It was then considered as shameful to desire blood for blood. The judge, who was commonly the lord of the place, made the person accused appear likewise before him; and never allowed the decision of battle, which was demanded by throwing a glove, or some other pledge, upon the ground, but when he could get no other proof either of guilt or innocence.

The pledges being received, the judge deferred the decision of the quarrel till the end of two months, during the first of which the two enemies were delivered each of them to common friends, upon security for their forthcoming; their friends endeavoured by all sorts of means to discover the person criminal, and to convince him of the injustice of maintaining a falsehood, from which he could expect nothing but the loss of his reputation, of his life, and of his soul; for they were persuaded, with the utmost degree of certainty, that Heaven always gave the victory to the right cause; and therefore a duel, in their opinion, was an action of which the event was determined by no human power. When the two months were expired, the two rivals were put into a close prison, and committed to the ecclesiastics, who employed every means to make them change their design. If, after all this, they still persisted, a day was at last fixed to end their quarrel.

When this day was come, the two champions were brought fasting in the morning before the same judge, who obliged both of them to declare upon oath that they said the truth, after which they suffered them to eat; they were then armed in his presence, the kind of arms being likewise settled: four seconds, chosen with the same ceremonies, saw them undressed, and anointed all over the body with oil, and their beards and hair

cut close. They were then conducted into an inclosed ground, and guarded by armed men, having been made to repeat, for the last time, their assertions, and accusations, to see if they persisted in them without alterations. They were not even then suffered to advance to the combat: that moment their seconds joined them at the two ends of the field for another ceremony, which of itself was enough to make their weapons drop from their hands, at least if there had been any friendship between them. Their seconds made them kneel down in this place facing each other; they made them join hands, with the fingers of one put between the fingers of the other; they demanded justice from one another, and were conjured on each side not to support a falsehood; they solemnly promised to act upon terms of honour, and not to aim at the victory by fraud and enchantment. The seconds examined their arms piece by piece, to see that nothing was wanting, and then conducted them to the two ends of the lists, where they made them say their prayers and make their confession; then asking each of them whether he had any message to send to his adversary, they suffered them to engage, which they did at the signal of the herald, who cried from without the lists, *Let the brave combatants go!* After this, it is true, they fought without mercy, and the vanquished, dead or alive, incurred all the infamy of the crime and the punishment; he was dragged upon a hurdle in his shirt, and afterwards hanged or burnt, while the other returned honoured and triumphant, with a decree that attested him to have gained his suit, and allotted him all manner of satisfaction.

There is throughout all this ceremony something wild and ridiculous; but, however, religion, authority,

and prudence, are still heard, though utterly mistaken; whereas there is nothing but monstrous unreasonableness in the practice of those smart youths, who withdraw slyly into a field to shed the blood of one another, with hands impelled by no better instinct than that which instigates a beast of prey. If men went to fight with the same coolness and deliberation as in former times, can it be imagined that there would be the hundredth part of the duels that now happen? But men have thought it necessary to dismiss reflection from an action, which is serious above all others: some rush blindly into this danger, others please themselves with being born for the destruction of their fellow-creatures; others revive the hateful trade of the gladiators, and are indeed more dreadful and contemptible than the men who bore that name were heretofore.

The forms of duels which were observed in Germany, differ not essentially from those of France, which I have described: they were likewise received in Spain and England; only he who yielded to his adversary upon a single wound was reputed infamous; he could not afterwards either cut his beard, bear any office, wear a weapon, or mount a horse. On the contrary, he who died in a courageous defence was buried honourably. Another singularity, which must have prevented duels from being common in Germany, was that there were only three places where they could be fought, Witzbourg in Franconia, Uspach, and Hall in Swabia.

I could not wait for his majesty's return to Paris, to communicate to him the memorial of which I have now mentioned the contents; to inform him of the accidents to which this practice gave occasion, and to desire him to put a stop to an evil which was every

day spreading by his indulgence. I entreated him to attend to the counsel which I had presumed to give him, to renew the edicts against duels, to aggravate the punishment considerably, and execute it severely; and to forbid all men to prosecute any word of injury or offence otherwise than by course of law; but to manage so, that the justice obtained might be speedy and satisfactory; to make the complainant easy, and the aggressor penitent; and, lastly, to have this new order fixed up, at the beginning of every year, in the courts of the Louvre, the Palace, the arsenal, and in other places that were most frequented.* It is certain, as I represented to his majesty, that a reputation for personal valour, such as this prince had established, was able to give to an edict concerning duels, twice the authority that it could derive from mere royal pleasure; but the pleasure of the Master of kings, a power far superior, did not allow to the reign of Henry the Great the extirpation of this abuse.

It may be said, without pretending to justify this prince, that his easiness with respect to duels proceeded from a habit contracted by his long wars, by which he saw bloodshed without emotion; and that he was likewise not much less indifferent about his own blood. He had always some notion that the last moment was inevitably predetermined: this opinion he disguised to himself, under the christian notion of resignation to God. There was sent me from Rome, about this time, an account of a conspiracy against the state, and an

* If we attentively read what cardinal de Richelieu has said on this subject, in his Political Testament, Part I. chap. iii. § 2. the title whereof is, *Of the Means to prevent Duels*; we must own, that great minister seems to have drawn all his reflections on this matter from this and other parts of these Memoirs where duels are spoken of.

attempt upon the life of the king, which I thought I ought to disclose to him, though it seemed to me worthy to be despised, as indeed he despised it. He told me, on this occasion, that he was at last convinced that the happiness of his life required he should pay no manner of regard to intelligence like this,* for that, otherwise, his life would be worse than death itself; that the calculators of nativities had threatened him, some, that he should die by the sword; and others, by a coach: but that none of them had ever mentioned poison, which seemed to him the easiest way to dispatch him, because he ate a great deal of fruit of all kinds that were offered him, without having them tasted; therefore, upon the whole, he gave himself up to the Lord of his life and of his death.

It is not impossible but that, speaking in this manner, Henry reckoned a little, without perceiving it, upon the good fortune that had accompanied him as well in those dangers which particularly threatened his person,† as those which regarded his kingdom and

* "Let him alone," said this prince to those who persuaded him to punish a man who had been engaged in a conspiracy against him, "he is a wicked wretch, whom God will punish, without my interfering." *Matthieu*, Vol. I. b. 2. p. 359.

† Henry IV escaped one, on Monday the 19th of December, of which *M. de Perefice* gives the following relation. "The same day on which *Mairargues* was executed, an unfortunate madam made an attempt on the sacred person of the king, rushing on him with a poniard in his hand, as he returned from hunting, over the *Pontneuf*. His majesty's footmen running up, obliged him to quit his hold, and were going to beat his brains out on the spot, had not the king forbid them, and ordered him to be imprisoned in *Fort-l'Evêque*. His name was *John de Lisle*, a native of *Vineux* near *Senlis*. He was immediately afterwards examined by the *président Jeannin*, who could not get any rational answer from him; for he was entirely out of his senses: he fancied himself to be king of all the world, and said Henry IV had usurped the kingdom of France from him, and he was therefore going to chastise him for his temerity: whereupon the king thinking him sufficiently punished by his madness, com-

happiness. Of eight persons from whom he had most to fear in this latter respect, he remarked that some favourable planet had freed him from six of the most considerable: that one had died in the hangman's hands, two others of sickness, the fourth was then in prison; the fifth had gone into voluntary banishment; and the sixth was reduced to flatter him, whom he formerly endeavoured to destroy. For the other sort of good fortune, we have seen examples of it throughout this history: but, alas! this good fortune was not complete; an unhappy moment for France, as well as for this prince, has wholly blotted out that idea of prosperity.

“manded he should only be kept in prison, where he died soon after.”
History of Henry the Great, part 3.

BOOK XXIII.

1606.

I. Rosny presents medals to the king. The king and queen confer with Rosny on the subject of their quarrels. Conversation between Henry IV and Rosny upon politics, in which they concert measures to humble the house of Austria.—II. Rosny is made a duke and peer of France. The expedition to Sedan: intrigues at court upon this occasion. Letters from the duke of Sully to the duke of Bouillon: his advice to Henry: disgusted upon account of the treaty of Sedan: complains of Villeroy. Sully's advice to Henry to seize the fortresses in the earldom of Saint-Paul; which is not listened to: Henry offended with him upon account of his entry into Paris.—III. Differences of Paul V with the Venetians. Henry gives good advice to both parties. The city of Metz has a dispute with the Jesuits: new favours granted them by Henry. Adventure of father Cotton on the subject of Adrienne de Fresne. Disputes upon religion; with the clergy, on the subject of the council of Trent; between the Catholics and the Protestants of Rochelle.—IV. Ceremony of the baptism of the children of France. Regulations upon the gabelle and the elections. Other operations and regulations in the finances. Private life of Henry: his amusements: conversation between him and the courtiers. Military affairs in Spain and Flanders. Reflections upon this war. Other foreign affairs. Conspiracy against the king of England.

I. **T**HE king and queen being at Paris on the first day of this year, I went to the Louvre in the morning, to pay my respects to them, and offer the usual presents. I did not find the king in his own chamber; l'Oserai and Armagnac told me, that he was in bed with the queen, and that, probably, both were still asleep, because the queen's indisposition had kept them awake almost the whole night. I passed on to the queen's apartment, to inquire of la Renouillere and Catherine Selvage the state of their majesties' health; and knocked at the door

as softly as possible, that I might not wake them. I found that the courtiers were already admitted; for several voices, which I knew to be those of Roquelaure, Frontenac, and Beringhen, asked all at once, "Who is there?" and when I answered, I heard them say to the king, "Sire, it is the master-general:" "Come in, Rosny," said his majesty to me, "you will think me lazy, till you know what has kept us so late in bed: my wife, who believes she is in her eighth month, having had some pains as she was going to bed, I was apprehensive that she would have a dangerous labour; but towards the middle of the night they proved to be only the effects of the cholic; and she growing easy, we fell asleep, and neither of us waked till six o'clock this morning; but on her part, with groans, sighs, and tears, for which she has assigned imaginary causes: I will tell you what they are when some of these people have left the room, for you will not fail to speak your sentiments freely, and I believe your advice will not be useless on this occasion, any more than on many others of the same kind. But, in the meantime, let us see what you have brought us for our new-year's-gifts, for I perceive you have three of your secretaries with you, each loaded with a velvet bag." "I remember, sire," replied I, "that when I last saw the queen and your majesty together, you were both in very good humour, and believing that I should find you still so, and in expectation of another son, I have brought you a great many new-year's-gifts, which, from the pleasure they will be received with by those persons among whom I shall distribute them in your name, will afford you great satisfaction; and I could wish this might be done in the presence of your ma-

“jesty and the queen.” “Though she says nothing to you,” replied the king, “and plays the dormouse, as usual, yet I know she is not asleep; but she is offended both with you and I: we will talk of this when only you, Renouillere, Beringhen, and Catherine, are present, for they know something of the matter—but let us see your gifts.” “These presents,” said I to his majesty, “do not express the state of a master-general of the ordnance, nor are worthy of the treasurer of a rich and powerful monarch; but, small as they are, they will nevertheless give more joy to those on whom they are bestowed, and will produce you more acknowledgments, fame, and praises, than the excessive gifts you lavish upon persons who, I am well assured, thank you only by complaints full of ingratitude.” “I understand you by half a word,” replied Henry, as you sometimes show you do me: but let us see your presents, and talk no more of what you have heard.”

I then ordered my three secretaries to approach. “Sire,” said I, “here is Arnaud the elder, who carries in this bag, which holds the papers of the council, three purses of gold medals.” I showed them to the king, and explained the motto, which expressed the affection of the people for his majesty. “One of these purses, sire,” continued I, “is for yourself, the other for the queen, and the third for the dauphin; that is to say, for Mamanga,* if her majesty does not keep it herself, as she always does. In this bag likewise are

* Madam de Montglat, whom the young prince called so. In the 9138th vol. of the king's MSS. which is entirely filled with original letters of Henry IV, the queen, and madam Elizabeth of France, to madam de Montglat, there is one from the young dauphin to his sister, in which he tells her, he kisses Mamanga's hands.

“ eight purses of silver medals, struck in the same manner, two for your majesty, two for the queen, and four for Renouillere, Catherine Selvage, and such other ladies of the queen’s chamber as you shall please to give them to. Arnaud the younger has in his bag five and twenty purses of silver medals, to be distributed by the dauphin, madam de Montglat, madam de Drou, and mademoiselle de Piolant, among the nurses, and other female attendants on your children, and among the queen’s maids. And in the third bag, which le Gendre carries, there are thirty little bags, of a hundred crowns each, in demy-franks, all new, and so large that they look like whole ones; these are for presents to the queen’s maids, and the women of her chamber, and those belonging to the children of France, according to your orders. I have left two large bags in my coach, to the care of my servants, full of *douzains*, all new likewise, and each bag worth a hundred crowns, which make twelve thousand sous; these are to be divided among the poor invalids who are upon the quays of the river near the Louvre, which I am told are almost full. I have sent thither twelve of the most charitable men in the city to range them in order, and distribute the presents. You cannot imagine how much these trifling new-year’s-gifts, in little pieces new coined, will please these poor men, and the queen’s maids and women of her chamber: they all declare, that they do not regard these gifts for the value, but as being instances of your regard for them; especially the queen’s maids, who say, that what is given them to purchase clothes they must lay out as directed, but these hundred crowns they may lay out in what trifles they please, which is more to

“their taste.” “But, Rosny,” said his majesty to me, “will you give them their new-year’s gifts without making them kiss you for them?” “Truly, sire,” replied I, “since you once commanded them to kiss me, I am under no necessity of using prayers and entreaties, they come very willingly; and madam de Drou, who is so devout, only laughs at it.” “Ah! Rosny,” continued Henry, with the same gayety, “since it is so, pray tell me truly, who kisses you most willingly? and which of them do you think the handsomest?” “Faith, sire,” returned I, “I cannot tell you, I have no leisure to think of gallantry, and I believe they take as little notice of my beauty as I of theirs; I kiss them as we do relics when we present our offerings.” The king could not help laughing aloud; and addressing himself to those who were present, “What do you think,” said he, “of this prodigal financier, who makes such rich presents out of his master’s pocket for a kiss?” After diverting himself a few moments with this thought, “Go to breakfast,” said he to the courtiers, “and leave us to confer a little upon matters of more importance.”

Every one retiring but Renouillere and Catherine, the king, gently pushing the queen, said, “Awake, you dormouse, give me a kiss, and be peevish no more, for all our little quarrels are already forgotten by me; I am solicitous to keep your mind easy, lest your health should suffer during your pregnancy: you imagine,” pursued he, “that Rosny favours me in our little disputes; but you would be undeceived, if you knew with what freedom he sometimes tells me truths: and though I often resent those liberties, yet I am not really offended with him for them; on the contrary, I should believe he no longer loved me, if

“he ceased to make me such remonstrances as he
“thought were necessary for the honour of my person,
“the good of my kingdom, and my people’s happiness;
“for be assured, my dear,” he added, “there are none
“so just and so upright, who would not wholly fall, if,
“when they began to stumble, they were not supported
“by the good councils of prudent friends and faithful
“servants: and to convince you of the truth of what I
“say, know that Rosny has been continually telling me,
“for these fifteen days past, that you are in your eighth
“month, and that I ought not to discompose you, for
“fear of hurting your son, for a son, he insists upon it,
“it is.”*

This good prince, assuming an air still more tender and obliging, entreated her to tell him, before me, what was the cause of her waking with sighs and in tears. The queen at last, turning to him, said, that her grief was occasioned by a dream, which seemed to confirm what had been predicted to her a few days before, but that her mind had been relieved by weeping. She then, in her turn, entreated the king to spare her any farther uneasiness, at least while she was with child, and to avoid giving vent to such expressions, “which,” said she, “make me, as well as others, believe, that you are
“happier in the company of other persons than in mine,
“and those too, whom I well know are not only un-
“faithful to you, but hate you in their hearts; I know

* The astrologers had foretold it, says l’Etoile’s Journal, and that the queen’s life would be in danger. She was happily brought to bed of a daughter on the 10th of February. Henry IV in order to comfort the queen, (for she passionately desired to have a son,) said to her, with his usual gayety, that if this daughter should not happen to meet with a proper establishment, there would be many others in the same condition; and that if her mother had not borne a daughter, she would not have been queen of France.

“the reason also, and I appeal for the truth of this to “M. de Rosny, whose word I will take.”

I avoided this explanation, by answering in a general manner, that it gave me great joy to see their majesties open their minds thus frankly upon their little quarrels; that I found it would not be difficult to put an end to them for the future, if they would seriously resolve to yield to such means as would be used for that purpose, by persons who chose rather to serve their true interest than sooth their resentment. This proposal was accepted immediately, and they desired me to propose those means; the queen saying, that she was resolved to make use of them, and the king, that they would be highly agreeable to him. I then declared to their majesties in plain terms, (having first convinced them, that any other remedy would end only in talking and acting to no purpose, as had hitherto been the case,) that there was only one way of getting rid, at once, of all the occasions of these perplexities; that since they had reason to distrust their own steadiness, in taking and keeping resolutions, they should make choice of some person for this business, who, while this decision was depending, and after it was determined, should take the whole upon himself, and act as if the king and queen were absolutely without concern in it. I advised them to choose a man steady enough not to let himself be shaken by any consideration, and capable of such pure and honest affections, as to serve them, when the case required, by opposing their inclinations.

I discovered not the least inclination to be employed in this business, which indeed was not very agreeable; but I assured their majesties, that if it was upon me they cast their eyes, they must begin by being absolutely silent with respect to the means they saw me

make use of; and that, to give me a security that my work should not be destroyed by any return of disgust, they should oblige themselves, in the most solemn manner, not to oppose any thing I should do, nor to preserve any resentment against me, although one of the parties, and perhaps both, must, by admitting the remedy I should make use of, do some violence to their inclinations. I believe they guessed what this remedy was;* and I may venture to assert, that if they had agreed to my proposal, no human consideration should have hindered me from pursuing it; but I had good reason to fear they would not suffer me to proceed thus far. However, the king replied, that he was ready to sign this engagement; but the queen finding herself pressed, durst not venture to make any promise: she said she would consider of it; or otherwise I must tell her what it was I intended to do. Yet she knew my intentions as well as the king, but was afraid of the consequences of a compromise. So we did nothing afterwards but talk of that matter to the wind: for such it is to discuss with a serious air the trifling projects of the court, which have been already so often exhausted and worn out. It was through complaisance for their majesties that I consented to engage in this business, they having earnestly pressed me to it. I withdrew upon the queen's calling for her shift, and the king for his clothes.

The king and queen made my wife and I very considerable presents, in return for my new-year's-gifts; we likewise received some presents from queen Margaret. All the time the king staid in Paris was spent in balls, masquerades, and diversions of every kind. January the

* M. de Sully has acquainted us with it before, in the advice he gave the king, to send four or five persons over the mountains, and the like number over the seas, as he expresses himself.

10th this prince came to the arsenal,* it being very fine weather, to see a running at the ring. When the entertainment was over, he led me into the great walk in the gardens, where, leaning against the side of the balcony, I heard him with pleasure begin a serious conversation upon his political designs; the motto of my medals, with which he was greatly pleased, had turned his thoughts upon that subject. I had before perceived for some time, that he began to be more and more persuaded of the necessity and importance of this political plan; and that he every day removed some obstacle to the execution of it: he used often to say to me, that Philip III had not profited by the wise councils of Philip II his father, to look upon all those vain-glorious ideas of universal monarchy, with which his predecessors' heads had been intoxicated, as so many idle chimeras: he added, that this prince, by all his proceedings, had made it evident he had not renounced them, and that there was not one among all the princes of Christendom, who would be exempted from the attacks of this proud and insolent monarchy, till it was made to feel its own impotence by that great blow, the design of which I had first hinted to him, and to the king of England; and which, as he owned, had not made all the impression on his mind it ought to have done. I believe the proceedings of the chamber *des grands jours* in the former year, contributed most to this firmness of Henry; for by thus discovering the secret practices of Spain against him, his natural hatred of that power was greatly increased. I may venture to affirm also, that the conversation we had together upon this subject had a great share in the resolution he had now taken; and indeed it was not possible for a prince, though he were ever so inatten-

* Sec de Thou. Merc. Fr. ann. 1606.

tive to his own glory, to reflect upon all which an insatiable avarice and boundless ambition had in these latter times induced the house of Austria to undertake, without being seized with indignation. That Raoul de Habsbourg, whose noblest exploits, when his election to the empire was declared to him, had been to lead some soldiers into the neighbourhood of Basil, during the factions of the Etoiles and the Papequais, was never easy till he had divided Alsace between himself and the city of Strasbourg; and afterwards, increased his little domain with the dutchies of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and other hereditary lands which are still possessed by his family in Germany. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, when this happened, down to our own times, how many states, what an immense extent of country, has not this all-engrossing house devoured? the kingdoms of Spain, those of Naples and Sicily in Italy, the isles of Sardinia, Majorca and Minorca, Bohemia and Hungary in Germany, Burgundy, Flanders, and all the Low Countries; add to these, the acquisitions she has made in the eastern isles, and in the new world, equal almost in extent to all that is discovered of the three other parts of the earth. Can we still doubt then whether Charles V, who raised her to such an exalted pitch of power, intoxicated with such success, did not seriously think of swallowing up all the rest of Europe, Asia, and Africa?

Is there a necessity to bring any other proofs of this vain scheme of universal monarchy, than the destruction of the German Protestants, the conquest of Tunis and Algiers, the invasion of France, so openly declared by the irruption made into Provence, and by the famous siege of Metz; enterprises formed at one time by that monarch? And if we have seen this project blasted,

to what can we attribute it, except to different circumstances, and obstacles raised against himself by the precipitation of a mind which, in the intoxication of success, thinks every thing possible? Charles V undertook too many things at once, and those greatly beyond his strength; he engaged in those enterprises without caution, and almost without any preparation; he braved earth, sea, the elements, and seasons. Soliman, who made head against him in Europe, Asia, and Africa; Francis the first, Henry the eight, the pope, the kings of Navarre, Tunis, and Algiers, were enemies he despised, and whom he scarce took any notice of; he knew not how to manage the only resources which remained for him; his own subjects rebelled against him in Spain, Flanders, and Sicily: at length, when he acknowledged his error, he found no other remedy for it but an effort of despair, which made him abandon all, to confine himself to the gloom of a cloister. I never drew this picture to Henry without adding, that Philip the second, as ambitious as his father, but a better politician, had resumed all his designs, and might possibly have succeeded in them, if his private views upon France, England, and Ireland, had not been crossed by the lucky chance that had brought together two such able heads, as those of Henry and Elizabeth.*

I had always been apprehensive of the effects of the courtiers' suggestions, and the persuasions of the queen. This princess was continually representing to the king her husband, the advantages of a double alliance with Spain; she affirmed, that if France were united with

* It could only be with a view to invade France in general, or some part of it, that Philip II intended to possess himself of the duke of Savoy's dominions, by giving the duke some of his own in exchange for them: Matthieu, the historian, informs us of this circumstance, vol. II. b. ii. p. 240.

Rome, and the two Austrian branches, it would be an effectual way to extinguish all factions in Europe, and that policy as well as religion dictated this method. Henry assured me, that this sort of conversation, which had prevailed at court for some time, no longer affected him; and if he sometimes heard and answered such discourse, like one who sought to convince himself by making solid objections, it was only to hinder those persons from penetrating into his designs, and to flatter them with the hope of gaining him over to theirs, till a proper time came for taking off the mask. We agreed that matters were not yet ripe enough for that; and this conversation concluded, as many others on the same subject had done, by agreeing that, till that moment arrived, it was Henry's part to continue his endeavours for drawing into this association the princes of Germany and Italy, the dukes of Bavaria and Savoy, the former especially, by the prospect of gaining the imperial crown, and the latter by the hopes of acquiring Lombardy, and the regal dignity granted in favour of a marriage betwixt his eldest son and the eldest daughter of France.

II. The king could think of no other means to remove those obstacles which he had reason to expect the duke of Bouillon would raise, than to reduce him to reason, by seizing the city of Sedan. This expedient Henry's own mind suggested to him; and he resolved upon it so much the more willingly, as he could undertake this expedition without creating any suspicion of his other designs. He ordered me to prepare immediately a train of artillery, proportionable rather to the reputation of that place, than to its real strength, which the king did not know quite so well as myself: he declared to me, that he was resolved to march thither in

person, unless he were prevented by the gout, or some other indisposition, in which case he would commit the conduct of this enterprise to me; and that I might join together the authority and dignity suitable to the high employments I exercised, he offered me that moment, and indeed commanded me, to accept the rank of duke and peer, desiring me to tell him from which of my estates I would choose to take my title, that he might order Villeroi to make out the patent immediately.

I had before refused this dignity, when the king sent me ambassador to England; but, since that time, the repeated bounties of that indulgent master had removed the obstacle which hindered me from taking advantage of his favourable intentions; and finding likewise that he wished me to be raised to this rank as much for his own interest as mine, I accepted this new favour with the highest acknowledgment. I named the lands of Sully for my title, and the patent for it was signed on the 12th of February, sealed a few days afterwards, and registered on the last of the same month.* All the lords of the court, and the greatest part of the *grandeess* of the kingdom, were pleased to accompany me when I went to the parliament for the ceremony of my reception, which which was still further honoured by the presence of all the princes of the blood, except the count of Soissons; the great chamber, the hall, all the galleries, and the very courts themselves, were so full, that there was scarce room to move. I carried sixty persons of the highest rank home with me to the arsenal, where an entertainment of flesh and fish was pre-

* De Thou, b. xxxvi. and almost all the historians, mention the distinguished manner in which this dignity was conferred on the *marquis de Rosny*. Henry IV had before made him honorary counsellor of the parliament.

pared for them; and I was most agreeably surprised to find his majesty, who went thither during the ceremony without giving me notice of his intention. "Master-general," cried the king, as soon as I entered, "I am come to the feast without being invited, shall I have a bad dinner?" "It is possible you may, sire," I replied, "since did I not expect to be honoured with your presence." "I assure you I shall not," returned the king, preventing my acknowledgments, "for, while I waited your return, I visited your kitchens, where I have seen the finest fish imaginable, and ragouts in my own taste; and because you staid too long, I have allayed my hunger with some oysters, and drank some of your wine of Arbois, which I think is the best I ever tasted." The king's gayety heightened the pleasure of the entertainment; and the rest of the day was passed to the entire satisfaction of the guests.

His majesty sent for me the next morning, and in the presence of all the courtiers, asked me whether I had remembered to make a memorial of the train of artillery for the attack of Sedan which he had mentioned to me: it was already drawn up; and when I left my closet I put it in my pocket. I now presented it to the king, who caused it to be read aloud, by which means the courtiers were acquainted with the king's design; his majesty afterwards humorously said, that the duke of Bouillon, though a naturalized German, had not probably forgot the French language, but that if he had, we might teach it him again in a little time by this method. His majesty then seeming to expect my advice concerning this war, I told him, that I did not think the duke of Bouillon had so little judgment, as not to be sensible of the vast disproportion betwixt his majesty's

forces and his own, or was so imprudent as to expose himself to the danger of knowing it by experience; that I had a long time warned him that his city could not hold out against the cannon; and knowing this better than any other person, I was assured that, if he made any show of resistance, it would only be with the hope of being able, during that time, to employ more successfully the arts of negotiation; yet, that I would take the liberty to advise his majesty to write once more to the duke of Bouillon, and let him know that, in the present conjuncture, he might come with full security and throw himself at his feet, and be very certain that, upon this submission and more exactness in keeping his word for the future, his pardon would be granted and himself treated as formerly; but that if he refused this last favour, he must no longer expect to be received upon any terms of composition. After this I continued to give the king an account of the preparations I had made; he approved of the hint I gave him, to send away only the body of the artillery from Paris, and to take up the ammunition and other necessary provisions in places nearer Sedan, to save the expenses of carriage.

This affair was not pushed on so vigorously as I had expected it would, on account of the great opposition it met with at court, where the least preparation for war seemed to give as much alarm as it could do to the enemy. Nothing was talked of but the difficulties to be encountered before a town, the fortifications and situation of which every one exaggerated to Henry, and of the inconveniences which would attend so long a siege as that must inevitably be: to hear them, one would have imagined that heaven and earth were interested in favour of Bouillon, and his city. They contrived that a memorial on this subject, in the form of a letter, should

fall into his majesty's hands, full not only of absurdity but impertinence; the king thought the style of it resembled that of the duke of Bouillon, with some strokes of du Plessis and Tilenus: it was not surprising that the particular friends of Bouillon or the Protestants should talk in this manner, such as Montluet, la Nouë, and the two Saint-Germains, who might think the whole Protestant body concerned in this business; but it was strange that persons who had no connexion with the duke of Bouillon, and even others who understood fortification, as the engineer Erard, for instance, should never mention this design but to show the impossibility of executing it: it would be very difficult for me to believe that these persons wished well to the undertaking.

The king himself fell into an irresolution which was wholly incomprehensible to me; I often represented to him, but in vain, that he would, by this procedure, give all the advantage of the cause to persons who, having neither arms, hearts, nor hands, depended upon this resource alone; and it is certain, that the duke of Bouillon would not have suffered matters to be carried so far as they were, had he not persuaded himself, upon the report of his friends at court, who gave him intelligence of whatever passed there, that his majesty would never carry his designs into execution. Another expedient which those persons made use of, was to tell the king that the duke had no intention to resist him, but that he could not resolve to appear weak and fearful before persons, who, instead of making him a faithful report of his majesty's intentions, seemed solicitous to widen their difference by threats and insults; that if, instead of those persons (and here I was certainly meant) his majesty would be pleased to treat with him, by men proper to inspire him with a confidence in his promises,

he would be soon convinced of the truth of their assertions. Montluet* and la Nouë, among others, boasted that they would, without any difficulty, bring him back to his duty; therefore the king thought the best thing he could do was to depute them to him: they brought back nothing but general and ambiguous expressions; yet this did not open Henry's eyes, because they likewise represented to him, that Sedan, by the new fortifications which were just raised there, was absolutely impregnable. I know not whether they really were carried away by this false opinion, or only affected to appear so: but Henry, instead of hastening his preparations, after this answer from the duke of Bouillon, discovered more plainly, that he thought the success of this attempt very doubtful.

I began to reflect seriously upon the disposition in which I saw the king, and, to fear that when, by supporting him against the general outcry, and against his own apprehensions, I should have embarked him in the enterprise, upon some unforeseen difficulty, which might probably be met with, the courtiers might so far influence his mind, already strongly prepossessed against it, as to induce him to abandon it, after great noise and expense, or to listen to proposals for an accommodation with the duke, upon conditions neither suitable to his person or dignity: in which case it would be better either not to engage in the attempt, or to find, while it was yet time, some other way to save his majesty's honour. I was very sure, that the reproach of making an useless armament, would fall entirely upon me; that I should be accused of having done either too much or too little, and that faults absolutely contradictory to each other would be imputed to me from the same persons.

*Francis de Angennes, sieur of Montluet. Odet la Nouë.

I concluded, that it was necessary Henry should of himself come to some determination; and I was willing to see what would be the result of his own reflections.

I began therefore to speak less frequently, and with more coolness than before, of the enterprise of Sedan, and observed the same conduct in public: the king was one of the first who perceived this alteration; and as he did not endeavour to penetrate into my reasons for this behaviour, or thought that I had changed my opinion concerning the duke of Bouillon and Sedan, it came into his mind that, having myself reflected more deeply upon the advice I had given him, I now tacitly retracted it, perceiving that the blow I was aiming against one of the heads of the Protestants might fall upon the whole body, by opening a way to oppress, one after the other, all who supported them in France. From this thought, which was already firmly established, Henry easily passed to a belief that I had no great reliance upon his equity, or that my attachment to my religion carried me too far: he declared this suspicion to several persons whom he knew to be my friends, and in order to have it cleared up by myself, he came to the arsenal. I was then confined to my chamber, by the wound I had formerly received in my mouth and neck, from whence issued a splinter of bone, some lint, lead, and some grains of gunpowder still so fresh and so little altered, that they took fire when laid on some burning coals.

Henry turning the discourse upon the duke of Bouillon, "I think," said he, "you are not so solicitous about this affair of Sedan, as you were some time ago, nor so firm and steady in your resolutions concerning it as I have known you to be on other occasions, where far greater difficulties were to be

“expected; what is the meaning of it? tell me freely, “I entreat you, and do not conceal any thing from “me.” This prince, by an effect of the liveliness of his temper, did not give me time to reply, but proceeded to inform me of the notion he had entertained of my alarms and apprehensions with respect to the Protestant body in France. He protested with great earnestness against the suspicion of his labouring to ruin the chief Protestants one after the other; he appealed to the knowledge I had of his sentiments, and asked whether it was not true, that it was generally known that, in whatever concerned the service of his person and his table, he chose rather to trust himself in the hands of the Protestants than the Catholics; and he assured me also, that he had no personal hatred to the duke of Bouillon; that he would require nothing dishonourable of him; in a word, that he would make me judge of the manner in which he ought to be treated.

I was pleased to hear the king speak thus, and assured him, that I was well convinced of his favourable sentiments for the Protestants in general, and for me in particular, yet I owned, that the suspicion he had entertained of me with regard to the affair of Sedan had given me uneasiness: I declared to him the true cause of that coldness he taxed me with; and, having afterwards exhausted all the reflections which the mind could suggest on this occasion, I disclosed one to him which had occurred to no one but myself; and this was, that the expenses Bouillon had been at in fortifying Sedan having entirely exhausted his funds, and probably involved him in great debts, this might be the real cause of his not yielding to his majesty’s desires, since, if he resigned Sedan to him, he would deprive himself of the only resource he had to retrieve his affairs;

and this supposed, perhaps all that was necessary to bring the affair to a happy conclusion, was to offer the duke of Bouillon a sum sufficient to pay his debts. I represented to the king, that if, by giving Bouillon two hundred thousand crowns, he might be prevailed upon to accept all the other conditions, his majesty would be still a gainer of six hundred thousand, since the expense of the armament he was preparing could not amount to less than eight hundred thousand crowns. A new motive for treating Bouillon with the utmost rigour of war, if he obliged the king to attack him, was to declare not only the principality of Sedan, but the viscounty of Turenne likewise, re-united to the crown; although he pretended to hold them both of France in the same manner as they do the great fiefs of the crown: I added, that unless his majesty did this he would have the mortification of having made advances, for which nothing could afterwards make amends. It should seem that it was a kind of foresight of what happened, which made me insist so earnestly upon this alternative, either to show an extreme indulgence before the enterprise was begun, or when we had once taken up arms, an inflexible resolution.

The king replied, that to enter into a negociation with Bouillon, would be to confirm him in the opinion, it appeared, by the letter already mentioned, he entertained, that his majesty durst not attack him: he consented, however, to let me try this method in concert with the princess of Orange,* who was then at Paris, and that we should send du Maurier† to the duke with

* Louisa de Coligny, the admiral's daughter, first married to the count de Teligny, who was killed on St. Bartholomew's day; and a second time to William of Nassau, prince of Orange, whose widow she then was.

† Benjamin Aubery du Maurier, at first attached to the duke of Bouillon, afterwards to the duke of Sully.

dispatches, the purport and terms of which he left wholly to me. "But you must likewise promise me," added Henry, "that, if he should not accept the offers you make him, you will serve me impartially in this affair and in the manner you have done before," pursued he, instancing the siege of Amiens, the campaign of Savoy, and other enterprises of the same kind. This I faithfully promised. "It is enough," said Henry taking my hand; "I am satisfied, and will rely entirely upon your capacity and fidelity." Saying this, he left me.

I went the next day to the princess of Orange, and concerted with her the manner in which we should both write to the duke of Bouillon. We settled the deputation of du Maurier, and the matter of the instructions which were to be given him. The following is the substance of the letter I wrote to the duke: I began by calling to his remembrance the power and personal abilities of the present king, both as well known to himself as to me, and I intreated him to reflect well upon the advantages they gave him, since this was the surest way to avoid the dangers with which he was threatened, and to prevent being blinded by his own prejudices, or carried away by the violence of his passions. This was not indeed to flatter, but, as I told him, it was to give him a clear notion of what he might expect, and to prevail upon him to follow the advice offered him by the princess of Orange, and by a man who solicited him as a friend, not to reduce himself to the necessity of giving to force, what nothing but his own obstinacy would hinder him from granting to conditions dictated by the utmost gentleness. I did not enter into a detail of the proposals, but informed him, that du Maurier was commissioned

to make them to him personally; besides which, we had reduced to writing all that he had to say to him in our names, that nothing might be forgot or mistaken. I anticipated the objections which I supposed he would make, that his majesty did not appear to have any part in the proposals we made him, by giving my word of honour, and even offering to become surety, if necessary, that his majesty would ratify whatever should be agreed on betwixt us; adding, that I was willing to be branded with the names of base, perfidious, and dishonourable, if every article were not performed. I concluded with earnestly intreating him not to suffer matters to come to an extremity. This letter, which exactly agreed with that written by the princess of Orange, was dated the 1st of March.

The duke of Bouillon answered by a letter, dated the 4th of the same month: he told me, that he had received a letter from me, as likewise one from the princess of Orange; that he had heard what du Maurier had to say, and had read his paper attentively, but that he had reason to complain he should be obliged to purchase the king's favour by a meanness which would render him unworthy of it; that what was promised him was only by a writing, which could be known but to a small number of persons, while all France would be witness of his humiliation, and the little regard the king would afterwards have for him; that his friends whom he had consulted, and who were not so inconsiderable for their number as had been reported, were all of his opinion; that his majesty was very far from entertaining that favourable opinion of him which he had been made to hope for, since he distrusted his fidelity so much as not to allow him to keep a place of so little strength as Sedan. And here he added, but

with more confidence, and in contradiction to what he had just said, that he was well informed there were persons who attempted to impose upon his majesty, by promising to make him master of Sedan in less than a month, and without the loss of a single man. Bouillon, no doubt, applauded himself here on the ingenious way he had found to give me the lie in speaking to myself. The whole letter was in this strain of complaints without foundation, and protestations of innocence, equally vague and uncertain. He took care to avoid making any confession or promise; and all that he said to the purpose, after this idle preface, was, that if he had given the king any cause to be offended with him, rather than aggravate his fault by denying, he was ready to make a frank confession of it, and to submit to any reparation his majesty should require, provided it was not expected the return of his favour and confidence should cost him his poor inconsiderable city, which he was ready, in an authentic manner, to declare that he held only from his goodness; but that if the king persisted in his resolution to deprive him of it, he should be forced to believe, that though his words expressed kindness, yet his actions testified hatred.

Bouillon's letter to the princess of Orange was conceived almost in the same terms; and what du Maurier related from himself having nothing more satisfactory in it, the king began to consider the duke of Bouillon as wholly untractable. I thought it necessary, however, to answer his letter: I told him that his majesty was displeased at the manner in which he had refused the offers he had made him by me; that he had thought his letters full of distrust, doubts, and of expressions very disrespectful to him; besides his affectation of not answering precisely to what was proposed to him. I ad-

ded, that I was truly grieved my advice should have no other effect but to embitter his mind, as it had happened formerly, when I wrote to him upon the imprisonment of marshal Biron; but that the time would come, and perhaps it was already near, when he would be sensible that the council I had given him was in the present conjuncture the best that could be offered; and I warned him, for the last time, to think seriously of it, and earnestly intreated him to take such a resolution as would be most for his true interest, since nothing (whatever he might think to the contrary) would give me more satisfaction.

In the mean time I had found means to obtain a drawing of both the plan and elevation of Sedan. The king came to the arsenal to look at it, and brought with him the count of Soissons, the duke d'Epemon, the marshals Brissac, Fervaques, Bellegarde, and Roquelaure, don John de Medicis, de Vic, Montluet, la Nouë, Boësse, Nerestan, d'Escures, Erard, and Châtillon, who had drawn the plan, but whom I had expressly ordered not to give his opinion before so many witnesses. The situation of the place, its strength, and the form of the attack, were subjects for endless debate among so many persons: Montluet, la Nouë, and Erard, maintained with great obstinacy, that it was impregnable, and could be only reduced by famine. To all this I scarce made any answer, though they generally addressed themselves to me, and the king often asked my opinion of those terrible fosses, all cut in the rock, for so they alleged they were.

The assembly separating without coming to any resolution, I waited upon his majesty the next day; and after telling him my reason for keeping silence the day before, namely, that among so many persons secrecy would be

but ill kept, I made him sensible, that none of those diligent observers had attended to any of the defects in the fortification, among which were the valley of the Fountain, that of Ginmenes, the artificial ditches, which in some places were not defended by the natural rock, but flanked with earth brought thither for the purpose; and the two approaches by the river side, one above and the other below, which were so spacious, that I assured his majesty I would lodge, and that with very little danger, all the troops within two hundred paces of the city, and even under the counterscarp of the artificial ditches, because the turning of the valleys would cover them from the discharge of the small arms, while the besieged would not be able to show themselves upon their parapets, nor scarcely in any other place, without being perceived from the eminences in the surrounding country, which so absolutely command the whole body of the fortification, that we might have a full view of the inside of the lodgments, both in front, in rear, and on each side: and I gave his majesty my word, that within the eighth day after the batteries were raised, I would put him in possession of Sedan.

This once the king believed me, and in the joy that transported him he flew to impart it to messieurs de Medicis, de la Force, de Vic, de Nérestan, and Boësse, whose discretion he was well assured of, and who greatly praised my caution. After this, Henry no longer hesitated whether he should attack Sedan, but prepared to set out as soon as possible, at the head of a body of cavalry, and some companies of the regiment of guards; while I, in the mean time, assembled the rest of the troops in a body, and sent away the artillery before; taking care that the country people and citizens should receive no insult, or suffer the least inconvenience, by the quartering of so great a number of soldiers.

The design of falling upon the duke of Bouillon could not fail to raise murmurs among the Protestants; and it is probable, that the duke depended upon a general insurrection in his favour. If this was the case, he was deceived in his expectations; to which, I confess, I contributed. I took occasion, from a letter that Parabere wrote to me upon this subject, to give in my answer a kind of manifesto, which might justify to the Protestants the king's proceedings, and show that the duke of Bouillon suffered only through his own fault. It was for this reason that I took much more pains in the composition of this letter, and extended it to greater length, than I should have done if Parabere only had been to see it; for I suspected, and with reason, that it would be made public.

I began with enumerating the chief favours which Bouillon had received from his majesty, who had preferred him to the prince of Condé himself, made him marshal of France, first gentleman of the bedchamber, and raised him, before any other of the Protestants, to all honours and dignities, rewarded him with pensions and appointments much larger than what were given to the others, his pensions, salaries, &c. amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand livres a year; besides which, his majesty had married him as advantageously as he could have done his own son or brother; favoured him in the succession of Limeuil, and after the death of the dutchess his wife, supported him with all his power: this particular I was myself a witness of, and I spoke of it as such. These acts of kindness and these repeated benefits, I contrasted with the ingratitude with which Bouillon had behaved to Henry; his secret practices, his seditious conduct at the siege of Amiens, his retiring from court when marshal Biron was arrested, and his

leaving the kingdom, which was attended with circumstances more than sufficient to condemn him. I took Parabere to witness, that notwithstanding all this, himself, Constant, and I, had been greatly instrumental in soliciting those favours which his majesty had since been still willing to bestow upon him: I observed to him, that Bouillon had in some sort confessed himself guilty of high treason, by his requesting a full and general pardon; and when his majesty appeared ready to grant it; he eluded all by a subterfuge, which was in itself a crime; for though a subject and domestic of the king, from whom alone he held the principality of Sedan, he refused to hold it upon the same conditions of protection which the late duke of Bouillon had accepted from Francis II, of whom he was neither a subject nor domestic.

I afterwards enumerated all the conciliatory methods which some of his chief friends had sent du Maurier to propose to him, with full assurance that his majesty would consent to them; namely, that it should be proposed to the king, that Sedan should be considered as one of the cautionary cities given to the Protestants; that the duke should sell it to the king; or if not, that la Nouë should be made governor of it, the sovereignty, and even property remaining to the duke: but that while the king offered him more than he had reason to expect, he would listen to nothing, and, by his ill-timed obstinacy, obliged us to draw our swords against each other, and to reduce the church of Sedan to the extremity it would be shortly in: that his majesty was so greatly affected at this misfortune, that he had resolved, and even faithfully promised the deputies from the church, to make no change, or introduce any innovation in the religion of Sedan, although he should take it by storm. I concluded with earnestly intreating Pa-

rabere to do me justice in public, as to the purity of my intentions, and my grief at beholding one, who professed the same religion as myself, running so blindly upon his destruction.

Henry thought it necessary to use the same precaution with the Protestant party! Bouillon having made, by la Nouë, some proposals not fit to be received, the king published and answered them by a writing, which was distributed among the duke's friends, though at the hazard of confirming both him and them in their belief, that his majesty was desirous of ending this affair by gentle means; and they accordingly gave out, that the king now despaired more than ever of the success of his enterprise; to which Bouillon added (as it was reported by la Viéville, d'Arson, and du Maurier, who were deputed to him at different times,) that it was I who thus rashly engaged his majesty, against his inclinations, in a war; and that I one day boasted to this prince, I would take Sedan in three months, by attacking it on the side of the Fer-à-Cheval. This last report indeed was true, and made the king begin to reflect upon the pretended fidelity of those he had admitted into his councils; for when those words escaped me there were none present but the king, don John, and Erard. Bouillon accordingly considered and treated me as one of his most dangerous enemies, who endeavoured to suppress every favourable thought which arose in the mind of his majesty for him. It was the king's part to answer this reproach, and he did it in the manner I wished; and as for those other reports, which were still more insolent, he resolved to force Bouillon soon to change his style.

His majesty left Fontainebleau the latter end of March, carrying with him the queen, who would go

part of the journey,* notwithstanding the badness of the roads; and took his route by Rheims, Rhetel, Mézieres, Donchery, and Mousson. As I did not see his majesty again till the whole affair was concluded, I shall take the relation I give of it from the letters he wrote to me, and those which by his orders were continually sent me by Villeroi and la Varenne.

Bouillon persisted in his first arrogance as long as he could; he boasted to du Maurier, that as soon as he sounded a trumpet he would drive the forces of France from his gates. The king, while he pursued Bouillon with arms, was desirous also that preparations should be made for his trial, which he commanded me to push on vigorously before I set out to join him. The duke tampered so successfully with four of his majesty's gunners, that they suffered themselves to be prevailed on to desert him, making use of the horses he sent them to la Fère in Tarténois for that purpose; a crime which well deserved an exemplary punishment. Although the dutchess of Bouillon did not leave Sedan, yet he managed with such art, that those whom his majesty employed to bring him an account of every thing that was doing there, reported that she had retired to Germany, to avoid the inconveniences she might be exposed to in a besieged city. He was heard to boast likewise, that by stamping his foot upon the ground, he would bring four thousand men into Sedan; and would have had it believed, that he had the absolute disposal of seventeen companies of horse, and some regiments of foot, which were in Luxembourg; and that he should procure a powerful supply from the Swiss.

* The queen only made this journey, according to de Thou, the Merc. Franc. and the most authentic memoirs of that time, in order to obtain the most advantageous conditions that were possible for the duke of Bouillon, who had engaged her in his interest.

Cantons. The most circumstantial advices we received were, that before the 20th of April he expected to be reinforced by five or six hundred soldiers, which he had caused to be levied in Gascony and in the neighbourhood of Limeuil, and had ordered to embark at Bourdeaux. A nephew of Rignac, and a man named Prépondié, raised them, under colour of being recruits for the war in Flanders: his majesty had received notice of this from Pucharnaut, while he was still at Paris.

These advices, upon a nearer examination, were found to have greatly exaggerated the truth: it was known that Germany did not offer to stir in the duke of Bouillon's cause; the king was well assured by Bongars, that the archdukes testified more fear of our armament for themselves, than inclination to declare against us; Spain thought the occasion too slight to break the peace with France; and England had not the smallest consideration for Bouillon: three or four hundred Swiss adventurers were all he could depend upon, and this number was likely to be lessened, since our levies against him were carried on in those cantons without any opposition. Montglat had not yet seen the elector palatine, but he wrote from Strasburgh, that this prince shared in Bouillon's fears, and the landgrave sent letters to France to notify his intentions to us.

As to what the duke could do alone, every one knew that he had not more than twelve hundred soldiers in Sedan; and we were afterwards more particularly informed, that he had, in reality, but seven or eight hundred, citizens and adventurers together, part of whom also seemed to have an inclination to leave the place before the approach of the king's army. It was reported that Bouillon himself had retired into Germany,

escorted for some leagues by his garrison, and had been seen near Bascogne by some soldiers who knew him, and to whom he spoke. Some particulars, with regard to the orders he had given in Sedan for the castle and town, gave room to believe that he did not design to return: but this news, which the governor of Ville-Franche came express to relate to the king, was found to be false; the duke of Nevers, who was better informed, wrote the king word, that the duke of Bouillon had indeed marched out of the town, at the head of three or four hundred men, but it was to meet a German prince, with whom he returned to Sedan the night after. Although the several informations given his majesty by his agents did not exactly agree in every circumstance, yet it was known from very good authority, that Bouillon was not far from his city. This German count, whom, it was said, he had brought into Sedan to undergo a siege there, was the third of the counts of Solme: the eldest was grand master to the elector palatine; we have seen the second with the sieur du Plession: as for this, his knowledge and experience were not spoken of very advantageously.

The king was indisposed at Nanteuil with a cold, which did not hinder him from hunting, as soon as he began to recover: he wrote me word from this place on the 27th of March, that he had missed of his stag, but to make amends for that, he had taken two wolves, which he looked upon as a favourable augury; at Fresne he found four companies of the regiment of guards, already recruited with seven hundred men, whom he permitted to stay there till the 1st of April, to raise all the recruits they wanted. It was easy to perceive the heart of Henry expand itself, and a martial ardour appear in his countenance, at his resuming his first glori-

ous occupation. He went two leagues from Fresne to dine, and from thence to attend the service called the *tenebres* at Rheims. Here he continued till the Wednesday following, when he was joined by the duke of Mercœur, and all the nobility of the country. Here also he saw du Maurier, who came from Sedan, commissioned by the duke of Bouillon to tell him, that he consented to receive a person there, in the king's name, provided that he was invested with no authority, and that his garrison should remain there, commanded by his own officer; that he was ready likewise to receive his majesty into Sedan with what train he should think proper, and all whom he chose to depute to him, but that he persisted in his resolution to be sole master of his own city; and rather than resign it, he would be contented to lose his estates, his children, and his life. But in proportion as the danger came nearer, the duke's pride abated.

The king, without returning any answer to this proposal, sent the duke of Nevers * to Mousson, to assemble what cavalry was come thither, and hinder those supposed troops of the duke of Bouillon from entering Sedan: the whole number amounted but to three hundred men, Swiss and Germans included; and there was no appearance that any more supplies would be sent him, his majesty being then in a condition to prevent them. The king discovered great impatience to advance towards this city, but he had yet only his regiment of guards with him; the recruits of light-horse arrived in good order, but the remainder of the troops were not to join him till the fourth of April. The king did me the honour to write to me twice from Rheims, on the 24th and 26th of March, pressing me to come thither to

* Charles de Gonzague de Cleves, duke of Nevers.

him with my son; he proposed to set out on the 27th for Rhétel, and to be at Mousson on the 30th, which was the day he prescribed for the rendezvous of the regiment of guards, although the roads were rendered almost impassable by the rains. His majesty wrote to me also to send him some officers and horses, with a convoy of pick-axes, shovels, and mattocks, and some pieces of cannon of a moderate size, to strengthen his lodgment.

Nevertheless, very little dependance was to be placed upon all these appearances, as, notwithstanding the preparations for war, so many persons were labouring to conclude the affair by way of negociation; and, in effect, the party that was for peace, in a short time prevailed. His majesty, however, was but ill satisfied with the last proposals which du Maurier had brought from Bouillon, and which, by the king's order, were communicated to the keeper of the great seal, and to me. His majesty was yet more offended with the memorial, in which it seemed as if the duke wanted to treat with Henry as his equal. D'Arson, of his own accord, went to Bouillon after du Maurier had presented this impertinent memorial to the king; but Bouillon, after this sacrifice to his vanity, comprehended that it was at last time to change his language, which all of a sudden he softened very much; in consequence of which, he deputed Nétancour* to intreat his majesty to send Villeroi to confer and treat with him; to which the king consented, on condition that the conference should be held at Torcy, in the dominions of France. The last act of extravagance of this man, who certain-

* John de Nétancour, count of Vaubecourt, counsellor of state, camp-marshal, lieutenant-general of the city and bishopric of Verdun, and governor of Clâlons in Champaign: he died in 1612.

ly deserved worse than what actually befel him, was to send back Aërsens, who, with Henry's leave, had been with him, that he disclaimed Nétancour, and that he could do without Villeroi.

Henry must have had some powerful reasons, though unknown to me, which made him depute, as he did after all this, Villeroi and Dinteville,* in order to throw the whole blame of the miscarriage of the accommodation upon Bouillon. With them it appears that Bouillon showed neither ill-humour, nor a disinclination to treat. Villeroi himself wrote me word of what passed between them, and subjoined to his letter a long memorial, which he wrote the same evening, being the 30th of March, after he had returned to Donchery. If I was to believe Villeroi (for we shall immediately see the reasons I had to doubt his sincerity,) he found Bouillon so dark and irresolute, that he could not answer for any thing till another interview, nay, until Bouillon had not only concluded and signed the treaty, but also begun to execute it: now how shall we be able to reconcile this with what follows immediately after, where he says, that it seems as if the duke of Bouillon were coming to reason, but, by supposing that he could not help throwing out some dark hints of his knowledge of the treaty being much nearer a conclusion than he cared to tell me? He further acquainted me, that a second conference was to be held the next morning at Donchery, which would oblige the king to spend another day in that place.

As a proof that Villeroi did not communicate to me the whole of this affair, la Varenne, who wrote to me at the same time, informed me, that Bouillon had pre-

* Joachim de Dinteville, governor of Champaign.

sented himself at the conference with the air of a man who asked quarter; for which conduct, says he, he had very good reason, as, after having made his utmost efforts, after having exhausted his small territory by levies on all sides, he could raise no more than fifteen hundred raw men, none of whom had ever seen an engagement, with a few French and German foot soldiers, and only twenty-five Swiss, all the rest of his troops being in a most wretched condition, except some Flemings from Frankendal and the neighbouring country. Therefore, if in this extremity the dutchess of Bouillon had not yet left Sedan, there was no reason to doubt but that her husband had resolved to accept of any conditions whatever, so that the treaty might be looked upon as in a manner concluded, it being only to save his character from the reproach of so hasty a capitulation, that the duke had demanded, as a favour, a respite till the next morning.

All was accordingly concluded in this second conference. Villeroi was, in appearance, very eager to acquaint me with the news, since he wrote to me immediately after, as he had done the day before: but he took care to conceal part of what had passed, as we shall soon see. In this second letter, however, he promised to send me the treaty itself, as soon as it was fairly transcribed and signed, which was to be done the next morning: but in the mean time he specified the principal articles: the treaty was entitled, *Articles of the protection of Sedan, and Raucourt*, and dated April the 2d, 1606, and to remain in force four years. By this treaty, the duke of Bouillon consented that the king should place a governor in the castle, with a company of fifty men; and that the inhabitants of Sedan should take the oath of fidelity to the king, which Bouillon also engaged

to do himself. Villeroi filled up the rest of his letter with the praises which he said his majesty publicly bestowed on my vigilance, and the advice I had given on this occasion; yet surely this was unnecessary, for all my endeavours and all my counsels produced nothing: therefore, I was not to be dazzled by Villeroi's flattery, nor could I alter my opinion of his proceedings.

I had no reason to doubt, that his majesty sincerely desired to give me some part in the conclusion of this affair, after the assurances I had received from him, and the letters he wrote to me for no other purpose but to press me to come, that nothing might be done without me. I do not pretend to know Villeroi's reasons for thinking so differently from his majesty in this respect; perhaps he was afraid I should deprive him of the honour of this treaty, or probably, he thought Bouillon might, by my interposition, obtain terms more advantageous; in which case, our friendship would unite us against his policy, which was to keep the most considerable Protestants at variance with each other. This, however, was certain, that he pressed the conclusion of the affair so much the more eagerly, as his majesty appeared solicitous for my being present, and repeated his invitations to me to come; and to effect this purpose, did not scruple to make use of a little artifice. Henry having given him the letters before mentioned to be dispatched to me, he committed them to the care of a servant, whom he ordered to ride slowly into Amiens, Saint-Quentin, and Rheims, that I might not receive them till I had got another letter from his majesty, which he wrote to me eight days afterwards, and was brought to me by a courier sent expressly with it. My astonishment may be easily imagined, when by these last dispatches I found that his majesty was under great

uneasiness on my account, fearing that I was indisposed, since he had received no answers to letters he had written to me eight days before, which was the cause that every thing had been concluded without me. In this letter, which was dated Saturday, April the 1st, Henry desired me to delay no longer, but to leave my heavy baggage at Châlons, and meet him on the Monday following at Cazine, whither he went to see the queen.

Having received both these letters in one day, at Suife, I saw I had not a moment to lose, if I would meet his majesty at the place appointed. I found by the reception he gave me, that, after a little reflection, he would easily pardon the fault Villeroi had committed with regard to me.* This prince treated me with more

* De Thou, in the account he gives of this expedition to Sedan, b. cxxxvi. shows but a small degree of inclination to the duke of Sully, but a great deal to the duke of Bouillon. He would persuade us, that Henry IV having been convinced, during this journey, that M. de Sully persecuted the marshal de Bouillon only from a personal enmity to him, he was glad to take the opportunity his absence afforded, to conclude this affair by a treaty, because in reality his connexions with messieurs de Biron and d'Auvergne had not extended to any thing criminal. The evidence of the Merc. Frang. of almost all the historians, and of the author of the Apology for the duke of Bouillon himself, who, on the contrary, speaks more favourably on this occasion of the duke of Sully, than of the duke of Bouillon; and the other proofs interspersed through these Memoirs, incontestably evince, according to my judgment, the invalidity of what M. de Thou here asserts, of the opinion Henry IV formed of the duke of Bouillon's sentiments and disposition. A quite different degree of credit is due to facts established on the evidence of original letters and discourses, as the greatest part of those produced in the duke of Sully's Memoirs, and the present in particular, are, than to such as are founded only on the testimony of public report; and, if I am not mistaken, it would not be difficult to convince M. de Thou, that he is inconsistent with himself in what he says on this subject.

It may be asked, what was it then that occasioned that precipitation in concluding the treaty, that appearance of favour which is manifest in it, that mystery which M. de Sully himself insinuates the king made of it with respect to him? I subscribe to the reasons Marsolier gives: first, that Henry IV had no mind to ruin the duke of Bouillon, but only to make him seu-

than usual kindness and respect, supposing, perhaps, that I resented his not waiting for me. "You are welcome," said he to me aloud; "I have provided a supper and a bed for you; you shall have good accommodations." "Can you guess," said he afterwards in a low voice, and leaning towards me, "why I have made such haste? it was because I knew that, as soon as you arrived, you would be for viewing every thing, and throwing yourself into the most dangerous places, so that I was apprehensive of some accident happening to you; and I would rather Sedan had never been taken, than hazard such a misfortune, for I have need of you for affairs of much more consequence."

After this, any reflections I should make upon this agreement, and the whole conduct of the affair, might possibly not be free from partiality; all I shall say therefore, is, that the duke of Bouillon had reason to think himself very happy that he got off at so easy a rate, after having obliged his majesty to set an army on foot, and bring a train of fifty pieces of cannon, within fif-

sible of the weight of his power, to confine him within the bounds of his duty for the future: secondly, that the duke of Bouillon seeing the instrument of his association with messieurs de Biron and d'Auvergne in the hands of M. de Villeroi, thought it high time to make his submission to the king in earnest, in order to obtain his pardon, which his haughtiness prevented him from asking, so long as he could flatter himself his machinations were concealed: thirdly, that, on due reflection, Henry IV concluded the duke of Bouillon would be able to do him less mischief at Sedan than any where else; and that for this reason he was so far from driving him from thence, that he sent him back thither in a month's time afterwards. As to M. de Villeroi, whose behaviour on this occasion the author condemns, he certainly acted only in obedience to the king's orders, and in conformity to his intention; and he is therefore greatly commended on account of this negotiation, in the 8477th volume of the royal MSS. See the historians, and especially the *Merc. Frang.* anno 1606. No writer has given so minute a relation of this fact, as is contained in these *Memoirs*.

teen or twenty paces of Sedan, while he himself advanced almost to its very walls. All this Henry acknowledged, and sometimes he was greatly enraged at the duke's conduct; but his natural clemency prevailed. He made his entry into Sedan on the 2d of April, and left there fifty men, with Nétancourt at their head. Bouillon came afterwards to pay homage to his majesty, who sent for me to be present at this ceremony, which was performed in the king's chamber so early in the morning, that the duke found his majesty still in bed.*

I visited the town the next day, where, instead of those powerful supplies which were to come from all parts of Christendom to the duke's assistance, three hundred miserable lansquenets, and twenty-five Swiss, were all the foreign troops I saw there; every thing else was in proportion, the cannon in very bad order, with four or five unskilful gunners to attend them, no place fit to receive them, no fascines, gabions, pick-axes, or planks; in a word, none of the usual preparations for withstanding a siege. It was not possible for me to restrain myself from expressing my astonishment to the duke of Bouillon, who was present at the survey, and who, not being pleased either with my observations, or the freedom of them, began a debate, which he supported with more heat than was necessary. But, however ingenious his vanity might be, the inequality of the two parties was so palpable, that it was considered by our neighbours, that he had prevented his total ruin only by an implicit submission. Cardinal du Perron sent me a letter of congratulation from Rome, in which he said, quoting an ancient author, that wars ought to be car-

* Henry IV obligingly answered him, that it was not so much his city of Sedan which tempted him, as the good services he expected from him personally. MSS. *ibid.*

ried on with vigour and rapidity, for by that means we save both time and expense; those conquests which are made by the terror of arms, are more expeditious and extend farther, than those which are gained by arms themselves. The pope spoke publicly of this expedition in very advantageous terms; and I was convinced, that, in all other countries, people thought of it in the same manner as they did at Rome. This gave some consolation, that the reputation of our arms did not suffer.

I proposed likewise to indemnify ourselves in some measure for the expenses of this armament, by reducing to his majesty's subjection the fortress of the earldom of Saint-Paul. And here it is necessary to refer to what I have already said concerning the acquisition of this earldom in 1604, that when Gouillouaire came from the count of Soissons to propose this bargain to the king, his majesty, in my absence, intrusted the management of the affair to messieurs Bellievre, Villeroi, Silbery, and Maisses; and that upon the difficulties which I represented to this prince would arise in the affair, he caused a contract to be drawn up, in the name of a third person, until, by making himself master of those forts, they should be declared his by right of conquest.

When Henry proposed to me to pay the troops and disband them; "How! sire," I replied, "disband them! what then will become of your contract for the earldom of Saint-Paul? Have you forgot the resolution you made when it was past? Since you have been at the expense of raising an army, what now remains but to employ it that way?" I represented to his majesty, that it would be the work of fifteen days only. The Spaniards had not the least expectation of such an attempt; and when it did happen, could have no just cause to complain, since the king only made use of that

power granted by treaties to the earls of Saint-Paul, to choose between France and Spain, which should be declared to the council of Madrid at the same time that we set forward. "I am convinced," said Henry, after having heard me attentively, "that you are in the right, but it requires some deliberation before we engage in this affair; and I wish to mention it to the principal persons here with me, and to my ordinary council." I know not with whom his majesty consulted, or what advice was given him, but two days afterwards this prince took me aside, and endeavoured to persuade me, that at present it was best to let this affair sleep. I confess, when I quitted the king, I could not help saying, "*Ah! de-par-Dieu!*—I find we are going to put our swords in the scabbards: with so fine an army, and so favourable an opportunity of employing it, we are proposing to disband our men." I was not able to alter the king's resolution; the troops were paid and disbanded, and I sent back the artillery to Paris.

The king having a desire to enter his capital, with a discharge of all the ordnance, la Varenne, by his order, came to acquaint me with it. "What does the king mean, monsieur la Varenne?" cried I, surprised at the proposal, "we have not drawn our swords, nor fired a single cannon, and shall we play the victors? we, who in two respects are the vanquished, for we have bought with too great credulity, what the king ought only to hold by his own courage, and afterwards have been afraid to publish our own acquisition. I was always apprehensive that things would be managed thus; tell the king that every one thinks as I do on this occasion, and would laugh at us if we fired the cannon." I probably carried my freedom a little too far, but the grief I felt at what had happened was

the cause of it. The king could not hear this answer without great emotion; he concealed it from no one but myself. Praslin, and afterwards Béthune, came back immediately, to tell me from him, with great gentleness, that there was nothing unreasonable in what his majesty required of me. And I, in my turn, thought I was able to convince them of the contrary. Henry began now to be extremely enraged with me, gave my resistance very harsh names, and sent me an absolute command to obey him: which I did with such expedition, and with so great a noise of the artillery, that he was appeased immediately, and sent for me to come and embrace him.* Bouillon was in the king's train when he made his entry; he would certainly have injured his majesty greatly to have feared from him any appearance of contempt. The king resumed his former familiarity with him; and if there was any change in his behaviour, it was only to greater kindness and respect.

III. About this time broke out the famous quarrel between pope Paul V and the Venetians; the foundation of it had been laid long before, on occasion of some pretended ecclesiastical rights which the holy father, at a very unseasonable time, undertook to maintain against

* The Journal of Henry IV makes no mention of this dispute; but, on the contrary, says, that M. de Rosny was at the king's side, conversing with him, and showing him some beautiful ladies: that the marshal de Bouillon was very plainly dressed and mounted, and his look very sorrowful. A letter wrote by the king to the princess of Orange on the surrender of Sedan, is set forth in this Journal in these words: "Cousin, I may say as Cæsar did, *Veni, vidi, vici*: or as the song does: *Three days my love will last, and in three days 'tis past*: so much was I in love with Sedan. You are now able to judge whether I was in the right or not; and whether I did not know the condition of that place better than those who wished to make me believe I should not be able to take it in less than three years," &c. M. de Thou is also mistaken, when he says, (*ibid.*) that the duke of Bouillon did not arrive till three days after. See the Mer. Frang. where a description of his majesty's entry into Paris is given.

this republic; who, on their side, opposed them by very firm decrees.* Fresne-Canaye, our ambassador at Venice, had given me notice of it in the month of October. These decrees, joined to the imprisonment of two ecclesiastics by an arret of the senate, the interdict fulminated by the pope upon their refusal to revoke those decrees and to do him justice with regard to their imprisonment; and, lastly, the protestation lately made by the republic against this excommunication, had brought matters to extremity on both sides.

To speak candidly my sentiments of this affair, I thought the proceedings of both parties much the same, equally violent and imprudent. I have ever had a real respect for Paul V, and have professed to honour him greatly; nor do I think what I am going to say has any thing in it contrary to these sentiments. We live not in those times when the popes exercised that spiritual authority from which they thought, and with reason,

*By one of the decrees, of the 10th of January, 1603, it is forbidden to build any church without leave from the government; and by a second, of the 26th March, 1605, ecclesiastics and persons holding in mortmain, are restrained from making any acquisition without special authority. I shall not enter into a discussion of these points of law, there being an infinity of treatises wrote at that time on each side of the question; the chief are those which came from the pen of cardinal Baronius, in favour of the pope; and of friar Paul Sarpi, a monk of the order of the Servites, on behalf of the Venetians. All these may be seen in M. de Thou, the Merc. Franc. Matthieu, an. 1606, and other historians: and in particular in the writings upon this famous dispute. The Jesuits, the Capuchins, and a small number of other monks, were all that paid any obedience to the interdiction, and thereby got themselves drove out of the Venetian territories: the excommunication was treated with contempt by all the other orders in the republic, and divine service continued to be performed as before. It is reported, that the vicar-general to the bishop of Padua, saying to the governor, that he would act on this occasion as the Holy Ghost should inspire him; the governor made answer. That the Holy Ghost had already inspired the council of ten, to order all those to be hanged who should refuse to obey the order of the senate.

their greatest advantages were derived, and exercised it in such a manner, as gave them, in reality, a sovereign power over the princes and states in Christendom. At present, their usurpation of temporal authority is clearly known and distinguished, and is strongly contested with them. I may almost venture to say, that they are disabled with regard to their spiritual power; at least it is certain, that the reformation has deprived them of two-thirds of it at once; an example so recent, and so easy to imitate, that it was certainly very injudicious in the court of Rome to expose the republic of Venice to such a temptation, surrounded as it is by provinces who have shook off the yoke of the apostolical see, and who would receive them with open arms as soon as they had done the like: I speak of the Lutherans, and all the Protestants of Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, and Transylvania; to whom may be added, the schismatic Greeks and Turks. Rome should reflect upon the ravages made in her empire, by three or four monks only; and that this misfortune happened through the ill-timed pride of Leo X and Clement VII, too like what Paul V discovered in the present conjuncture.

The Venetians, it is probable, ran greater risks than the pope, by making him their enemy. All these discussions, which at first the contending parties pretended to regulate and guide by the judgment or award of conscience, terminate, sooner or later, in being supported by arms; when, as it always happens, arguments, far from being relished, give rise to proceedings more and more violent. And there is nothing which this republic ought so carefully to avoid as war, since she may be convinced, that if the emperor, and the king of Spain, do not prosecute their claims upon her dominions, which they

scarce ever conceal, it is certainly because they have not pretences in readiness, or want opportunities. It is the part of the Venetian policy, therefore, to aim continually at maintaining the republic, and all Italy, in the state they are at present: to them no change can be advantageous, while any revolution cannot but be fatal. I have often examined this matter in my conversations with the cardinals de Joyeuse and du Perron, and laboured with more candour than is generally shown by a zealous Huguenot, to find out means to prevent the new religion from getting a footing either in Italy or Spain, provided that they, on their side, would promise, that the pope, who was the head of Italy, should spare himself the trouble of taking any interest in that part of Europe with which he had no connexion; for it has been always my opinion, that the true system of politics, that which may give and preserve tranquillity to Europe, depends upon firmly fixing her in this equilibrium.

Could they have thought in this manner at Rome and at Venice, every one there would have conspired to stifle the present quarrel in its birth; and for this a seasonable and mild discussion had been sufficient: those affairs in appearance the most intricate and perplexed, are still capable of being happily tempered by proper management, and this more than many others: we ought to consider them without any regard to the consequences, with which it is wrong to alarm one's self, for we should never be alarmed with what is merely possible; but they had designedly increased the difficulties, by proposing things which always rendered the prudence of the ablest mediators ineffectual. The malicious insinuations of those persons who sought to take advantage of this disunion, had also some share in heightening it. If there be a person in the world, who, amidst the emotions

of anger, is capable of listening to the voice of reason, I should advise him then to distrust the discourse of those persons who, when thus agitated, offer to assist his vengeance: it is on such an occasion, that hatred and envy lay their most dangerous snares.

Canaye,* when he consulted me upon what, as ambassador from France, it was proper for him to do, in the present posture of affairs, thought it necessary for my better information, to send me a long memorial of the grievances complained of, and the arguments used by both parties. I made no great use of this paper; for to examine their reasons, and pronounce upon each, would not have been serving them effectually: I therefore told Canaye plainly in my answer, that, without having any regard to the foundation of the quarrel, the Venetians had no other part to take but to refer themselves to arbitrators, who might perform the office of a common friend to both, by pacifying their resentment, not judging with rigour. I named the king of France, as being, in my opinion, the only one who was likely to produce this effect; and recommended to them to employ the nuncio Barberini, whose wisdom and integrity I was well assured of, to lay a report of the whole before his majesty. They followed my advice, but not immediately; passion had asserted its usual dominion before. However, during the rest of the year, it was confined to writings, wherein invective was carried to great excess; but happily, the contending parties were the two powers in Europe who were slowest in declaring war, which was what each relied on. We shall see in the following year the event of this quarrel. It was of some use to the nuncio Barberini in obtaining for him a cardinal's hat, which the pope sent him upon making a promotion of cardinals,

* Philip Canaye, lord of Fresne.

out of the usual order of time. His majesty, to whom he was chiefly obliged for this dignity, congratulated him upon it: Barberini often declared, that he had a good friend about the king in me; cardinal du Perron thought likewise, that my interest had been of some use to him, with regard to the archbishopric of Sens, and the post of grand-almoner, both which were bestowed upon him by his majesty; he made his acknowledgments to me for this service, and intreated me to procure him, during his absence, the enjoyment of all the privileges of his office.

The citizens of Metz received a service of still greater importance from me, on occasion of the dispute they had about this time with the Jesuits; these fathers had two years before made an attempt to procure a settlement in Metz, the inhabitants of which avoided the blow by an application to his majesty, which I supported. The Jesuits returning to the charge, I again encouraged the people, sending them an account by Saint-Germain and des Bordes, and afterwards by la Nouë, of the king's opinion of the matter. But at the beginning of this year their fears were again awakened, by the Jesuits raising new batteries stronger than before, obliging the clergy, and all the Catholic burghers, to unite with them; they had likewise secured the vote of the duke d'Epemon, who was governor of Metz, and arrived there on the 15th of April to put the last hand to the work; at least this was what the people apprehended, and that the governor acted in this affair only by the king's orders. Alarmed at his arrival, they sent me a letter the next day which was followed, by another, dated April 25, and delivered to me by the sieur Braconnier, who was strictly charged to urge all the reasons that had induced me to undertake their defence, which they were afraid I might have forgot:

they likewise deputed two of their countrymen, one after the other, to court, to attend this affair; not, as these Protestants said, that they were apprehensive the Jesuits would turn them from their faith, but because they were persuaded the society, by its intrigues, would cause some revolution at Metz, the consequences of which, in a city so lately reunited to the crown, might be fatal.

It was by this motive, that I endeavoured to gain over his majesty, who likewise knew the importance of this city to his great designs. I filled the inhabitants with joy when I sent them word by their last deputy, that the king had granted their request, and would suffer no innovation to be made in their city; which I assured them of in the king's name. They made me greater acknowledgments in a third letter, dated the 10th of July; but I could perceive they were not quite freed from their fears, their adversaries boasting, they said, that it was in their power to alter the king's determination.

In effect, the Jesuits received every day such striking proofs of the king's favour and protection, as might well authorise the fears of the people of Metz: this very year Henry made them a present of one hundred thousand crowns for their college of la Flèche alone, and condescended to regulate the disposal of it himself, in the following manner: one hundred and sixty-five thousand livres for building the college; twenty-one thousand for the purchase of the ground; seventy-five thousand in lieu of church lands, which were seized upon, in order to erect a perpetual revenue for this house; for as these lands were possessed by persons who were not ecclesiastics, it was allowable to compel them to sell, (and that step was here actually taken,) a

pecuniary equivalent being granted them; twelve thousand for a dwelling-house for the fathers; three thousand to purchase books for them; as much for the decorations of their church; six thousand for their subsistence for the present year, (for Henry forgot nothing,) and fifteen thousand, which had been lent them by la Varenne after they came to la Flèche, which this prince kept an account of. This grant was dated October 16, and signed by the king.

I shall now lay before the reader another very extraordinary document; a counsellor of the parliament, named Gillot,* had in the year 1603 lent a book to father Cotton, which he could not get again, though he had several times asked the father for it; at length he sent a servant to demand it, with orders not to leave him till it was returned: the counsellor getting his book by these means, happened, when opening it, to find a sheet of paper between the leaves, which had apparently been forgot by the Jesuit, and was written all over, with his own hand: this paper seemed to him to be worth my notice; he brought it to me, and after obliging me to promise that I would not name him in the affair, he left the paper in my hands, to make what use of it I thought proper. After convincing myself that it was the hand writing of father Cotton, which it was easy to do, with the assistance of some letters Gillot knew I had received from him, we accordingly compared them, and found them exactly the same: the following is a translation of it, for it was in Latin, and contained a long list of questions which the Jesuit designed to ask the devil, when he exorcised a certain person who

* James Gillot, counsellor clerk in the great chamber of the parliament of Paris.

was possessed, and who made much noise at this time:* the reader will find questions of every kind in it, those merely of curiosity, some trifling, and even ridiculous, and others upon subjects which it is not fit for me to examine into: the writing begins thus.

“By the merits of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, apostles; of Saint Prisca, the virgin martyr; of Saint Moses and Ammon, martyred soldiers; of Saint Antengenius, martyr and theologian: of Saint Volusien, bishop of Tours; of Saint Leobard the monk, and of Saint Liberata the virgin.”

After this follow the questions which the exorcist designs to ask the demon; they are without method or connexion, the author having, no doubt, just thrown them on paper as they occurred to his mind; and some are expressed in such a manner, as makes it impossible to guess at his meaning.

“All that God permits me to know (observe that it is father Cotton that speaks) with regard to the king and queen; with regard to those who live at court; with regard to public and private informations; with regard to the news of life, and the right way; with regard to those who converse with princes; with regard to Laval, divine service, the knowledge of the Greek

* Her name was Adriana de Fresne; she was born in the village of Gerbigny, near Amiens; afterwards she settled at Paris, in Saint Anthony's-street: she drew to the convent of Saint Victor, where she was exorcised, almost as great a concourse of people as Martha Brossier had done to Saint Genevieve. De Thou, who has not suffered this piece of history to pass unnoticed, speaking of father Cotton as one of her principal exorcists, according to his custom, treats that father's curiosity on this occasion with great severity: he further observes, that Henry IV earnestly desired the duke of Sully to prevent this writing from becoming public; and that the contrary, either through imprudence, or by some other means, having happened, he pretended to treat the thing as a matter of no moment before his court: though inwardly he was much displeased with father Cotton. De Thou, book cxxxii.

“and Hebrew tongues, vows, the ceremonies of consecration, and cases of conscience, the conversion of souls, and canonisation, and if it may be permitted me to insist farther, with regard to the war against the Spaniards and heretics, the voyage to New France, and all the coasts opposite to America; and with regard to the means I ought to use, in order to persuade men with efficacy, so as to induce them to forsake their sins. To know from the devil what danger it may be in my power to prevent, and that he would inform me what If the person possessed hath been baptised; if she be a religious; if any foul play hath been meditated, by the malice of Clarendon against Mary de Valence,* or against the soul of la Faye. To ask the demon when Clarendon will go from home, the time, and the means, and if it will be at night; if I have any concealed danger to apprehend; if languages are inspired from God; by what means Chamieres-Farrier. . by what means, or by reading what books, we may render sermons most useful; what is my greatest danger; what restitution his majesty is obliged to; what he (the demon) would have me to say to dame Acharia,† du Jardin, and the brothers and sisters; what was the apparition that was seen in Languedoc; if it be convenient that mother Pasithea ‡ should come, and sister Anne de Saint Bartholomew go to Pont-a-Mosson; and if he would inform me what I ought to know, with regard to the king and M. de Rosny; what hopes may be formed of his conversion; what Protestants at court are most easily converted; all the danger that may befall him who is delivered from demons; if I am not threatened on that occasion myself; what is most conducive

* One of father Cotton's devotees.

† Another devotee of father Cotton's.

‡ A nun, who will be mentioned again in these Memoirs.

“to the conversion of heretics; what hinders the foundation of the college at Poitiers; what are the duties of a niece; what passage of scripture is most clear and most efficacious to prove purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the power of the pope, and that his holiness is invested with the same power that St. Peter had; where the animals drank in Noah’s ark; what sons of God loved the daughters of men; if the serpent walked on feet before Adam’s fall; how long our fathers were in the terrestrial paradise; what sort of spirits stand before the throne of God; if there is a king of the arch-angels; what ought to be done to establish a solid peace with Spain; if God will be pleased to inform me through thee when the heresy of Calvin will be extinct; of my father and his condition; of my brothers John and Anthony; how many passages of faith have been corrupted by the heretics; if it will please God to inform me of the Geneva plagiary; of the voyage of the father-general into Spain; of the brief, and father-general; with regard to Baquerville, and the young man who lives near Notre-Dame; when animals first migrated into the islands; and when the islands were first inhabited by men after Adam; where the terrestrial paradise is; how the king and queen of England and all the English nation, may be most easily converted; how to conquer the Turk, and make converts of the infidels; what part of the angels fell; what adoration the cherubims pay to the supreme Being, and what are his ideas of it; how I may correct the errors I have committed, either in writing, printing my books, or in preaching; what embarrasses the demon and his companions in the ceremony of exorcising; what hath so often occasioned the preservation of Geneva; what he knows touching the king’s health; what may unite the grandees of the

“realm with the king; how one may assist the sieur de
 “Verdun, and what his motives of action are; what re-
 “gards the hostage towns; Lesdiguieres and his conver-
 “sion; the honour of my relics; the letters written to ma-
 “dam de Clarenal; to be more than commonly particu-
 “lar with regard to that lady; what obstructs the college
 “of Amiens and Troyes; of the duration of heresy.”

The king, when he returned from Sedan, staid a few days at Paris, and towards the end of April went to Fontainebleau, from whence he wrote to me, that, by his physicians' prescriptions, he was beginning a strict regimen, which was to continue for ten days at least; upon which account, he deferred for so long the ceremony of the feast of Whitsontide, and sent orders to his council not to attend him for fifteen days. He permitted me to pass this interval at Sully, provided I sometimes came to visit him. By this remedy, together with perspiration, his health was greatly mended.

The affairs of greatest importance, in which his majesty was employed at Fontainebleau, were those which related to religion. The clergy of France assembling at Paris, renewed their solicitations for the publication of the council of Trent,* the public peace being con-

* In the *Merc. François*, anno 1606, may be seen the remonstrance which the clergy got Jerome de Villars, archbishop of Vienne, to make to his majesty, with this answer to it by Henry IV. “You have mentioned a council to me, I desire one may be called; but, as you rightly observe, the considerations of this world frequently clash with those of heaven: nevertheless, I shall always be ready to support the good of the church, and the service of God, with the hazard of my blood and life. As to simony, and the holding benefices in trust for others, let those who are guilty, by their own reformation, set others an example to do the like. In the elections you see my manner of proceeding; I am proud of the footing on which I have placed them, which is greatly different from what it was,” &c. The king, notwithstanding, in consequence of their complaints, issued two edicts, prescribing many ecclesiastical regulations, which were con-

cerned in this proposal, as well as in some others of the same nature, which it was resolved in the assembly should be made to the king. His majesty opposed them both with his arguments and authority, and treated the Protestants in the same manner, who, in imitation of the clergy, seemed disposed to abuse their privileges. Some provinces wrote to the deputies-general at court, to solicit the grant of a petition they sent the king for holding a national synod, while, at the same time, they laboured in other provinces to procure particular assemblies to be held, wherein it was the custom to appoint the deputies of the synod, and to draw up instructions upon the affairs which were to be treated therein. Henry had sent me orders by Villeroi on the 22d of March, to take proper measures on this occasion, in conjunction with my son, to whom he allowed me to give a share of almost every part of my business, and that I should afterwards confer with Servian, the deputy from Dauphiné. He wrote to me himself from Fontainebleau, desiring that I would send for the deputies-general, and oblige them to declare what were the intentions of the Protestant body, and to render their project ineffectual. I made him entirely easy on this head, by assuring him that, if I could not hinder the synod from being convoked,* I would at least contrive to have so many faithful servants of his there, as should render them master of all the debates. It appeared necessary likewise to use this precaution in the private assembly of Dauphiné:

firmed, the one in 1608, the other in 1609. See also M. de Thou, book cxxxiv.

* In the royal MSS. see the original of a letter from M. de Sully, dated the 20th of May, 1606, directed to the Protestants of the province of Burgundy, by which he endeavours to dissuade them from this notion of holding a synod at Rochelle.

and to satisfy the president Parquet, that he might not suffer his office, which he was desirous of resigning, to be filled by any of the factious party, I sent Bullion into Dauphiné and Esperian into Guyenne, with proper instructions how to act.

Des-Ageaux dying this year, his post of king's lieutenant of Saint-Jean-d'Angely was immediately solicited for by several persons, and among others by Beaulieu and la Roche-beaucourt; the former had had a brevet for it before des-Ageaux, but the duke d'Epéron, Parabere, and all the burghers of Saint-John, uniting in favour of la Roche-beaucourt, his majesty ordered me to send for him, and to give him all the necessary instructions for the faithful execution of this office, which he had determined to entrust to him. I took care not to speak for the duke of Rohan; Soubise* and he at that time not standing well in his majesty's opinion, on account of some steps taken by them, which others perhaps would tax only with imprudence, but I, who on such occasions am not accustomed to qualify my expressions, shall not scruple to call disobedient. Rohan applied to me to reinstate him in his majesty's favour, as soon as he should have returned to Paris, towards the close of the year. The king, to whom I wrote, had the goodness to give me hopes that he would pardon the duke, and even furnished me with the means of improving this pardon, by bringing the criminal to him, after having first instructed him, by my son, either at his own or some other house, in all that he was to do to render his sovereign favourable to him, provided that Rohan did

* Benjamin de Rohan Soubise, brother of the duke of Rohan, both of them sons of René duke of Rohan, and grandsons of John de Parthenay Soubise. The duke of Soubise was one of the principal leaders of the Calvinist party in France, during the religious wars in the following reign.

not put off till then a public acknowledgment of his fault, and sorrow for having committed it. As to the manner in which he should treat him, and how he should for the future expect him to act with the Protestants, he deferred explaining himself till he came to Paris. With regard to Soubise, as he had demanded the king's permission before he went to Flanders, his majesty consented that he should wait for him at Paris, or come to him at Fontainebleau.

At la Rochelle new quarrels arose between the Protestants, and the Roman Catholic clergy of that city, upon the extent and exercise of those privileges, which the latter were to enjoy there. Both parties made reciprocal complaints of each other; the ecclesiastics, that their adversaries often attempted to do themselves justice by force of arms, which was always forbidden; the Protestants, that the clergy constantly suppressed the arrets of council, to authorise their encroachments; and both desired a decisive arret. The king, conceiving that an arret would increase their animosity, insisted upon my undertaking the office of mediator upon this occasion. I began, by showing them separately, what were their real interests; and, after I had assured myself of their obedience, dictated to them the following articles of accommodation, which will explain the causes of their disputes.

That the Protestants should not prohibit the ecclesiastics from visiting the hospitals and prisons, or from hearing confessions, provided all this was done without any pomp, especially that of carrying the sacrament to those places: that the clergy had no right to assist at burials and public ceremonies, to carry the cross there, or attend criminals to the place of punishment: that the ecclesiastics should receive no bad treatment, either in

word or deed, when they passed through the streets in the habit of their order: that the Protestants should not make any opposition to the building of their church there; nor to the commissioners appointed by them to mark out the place, provided this place was neither inconvenient, nor suspected by the city; in either of which cases they should assign them another, or leave this point to be decided by the king and his council. I regulated likewise some other articles relating to the police: namely, that the Catholics should be contented with the share they had in the public posts and offices to which they should be raised by a majority of votes, and the usual methods; but, with respect to mechanical trades and corporations, as there was no reason why they should be excluded from them, the Protestants, by driving away their youth from the shops of the Catholics, had set an example of violence to those cities where the Catholic party was the strongest.

IV. During these discussions great preparations were making at Paris for the ceremony of the baptism of the dauphin, and the two princesses of France.* The dutchess of Mantua, who was to have the principal part in this solemnity, set out from Italy with a train of two hundred horse, and two hundred and fifty attendants: she arrived at Nancy in the beginning of June, and from thence her train and those belonging to the duke of Lorraine, sent to know of his majesty, if, at the end of eight days, which she proposed to stay at Nancy, she might continue her journey. This requiring some consideration, Henry wrote to me, for I was then at Sully, to come to Paris on the fourth or fifth of June; adding, that he would come thither himself the latter end of May, and,

* Eleonora de Medicis, eldest daughter of Francis de Medicis, grand-duke of Tuscany, and wife of Vincent de Gonzague, duke of Mantua.

till I arrived, make some short excursions to Saint-Germain to see his children, and likewise that he thought it necessary to send some person to Nancy with his orders. A kind of debate arose upon the manner in which the dutchess of Mantua should be received, which was at length decided in the queen's favour, who alleged, that this princess coming into France only to oblige the king, and to honour an extraordinary ceremony, too great respect could not be paid her. Accordingly, nothing was omitted; she had the precedence not only of all foreign princes, but also of the princes of the blood; at which the latter were so disgusted, that they refused to assist at any ceremony where she was present, alleging, that it was a very extraordinary thing for princes of the most august house in Europe to be preceded by a duke of late creation, descended from a citizen of Mantua, who, after killing Bonnacolsy his lord, procured the administration of Mantua to be confided to him, and afterwards usurped the sovereignty of it. But, notwithstanding all that could be urged, the king would not make the smallest concession on this point, considering only in the dutchess of Mantua, the title of an ally to the royal family, and eldest sister of the queen.

The duke of Bouillon sought to take some advantage of this example, but he was not regarded; he had been appointed to carry the regalia in the ceremony, and would have taken place of the dukes, claiming this privilege, as duke of Bouillon and prince of Sedan, and appealing to the examples of some of the princes of Sedan to whom he had succeeded. He was told, in answer to these pretensions, that the difference between them and him was, that they were really descended from sovereign princes, a quality which in ef-

fect gave them the first rank, while he was only descended from a private gentleman.

On the 20th of July, the dutchess of Mantua arrived at Villers-Coterets, where she found the king, who waited for her. From thence they were to go by Monceaux to Paris, where I was employed in causing scaffolds to be built in the church of Notre-Dame, in the palace, and in the square of the manufactures, and in making all the other preparations, when we were informed that a contagious disease had broke out in that vast city; for which reason the king, after consulting the dutchess, resolved that the ceremony of the baptisms should be performed at Fontainebleau.* The tournaments, and all the shows and diversions which were to have been exhibited at Paris, were set aside by this new plan, which took in only the usual expenses for the baptism of the children of France, and the robes of his majesty and the royal family. The nuncio waited upon the king at Fontainebleau, as did also queen Margaret. The chapels of the castle being too small for such a ceremony, and that of the monastery unfinished, I proposed that the floor of the latter should be spread, and the walls hung with tapestry, or that they should make use of the great saloon for that purpose.†

* "The plague, or rather the king's thriftiness," says l'Etoile, maliciously, "deprived the city of Paris of this honour:" an assertion without any foundation, and contradicted by all other historians.

† It was performed in the court called Cour du Donjon, which had been prepared for the occasion. The cardinal de Joyeuse, the pope's legate, represented Paul V as godfather, with the dutchess of Mantua, as godmother to the dauphin. The eldest madame of France was called Elizabeth, after the name of the archdutchess her godmother, wife of the archduke Albert, and grand-daughter of Henry II, represented by madame d'Angoulême, without a godfather; and the youngest madame of France had for godfather the duke of Lorraine in person, and for godmother the grand-dutchess of Tuscany, whose proxy was prince John de Medicis; she was called Chris-

The king himself took the trouble to examine the palace of Fleury, and caused it to be prepared for the reception of the dauphin when the ceremony was ended; for the contagion in Paris, instead of ceasing, had spread itself into some of the neighbouring places; nor was Fontainebleau entirely free from it. Henry* wrote me word, the latter end of September, that of six persons who had been seized with the distemper, only one had recovered, but that there were no more taken ill. He withdrew the regiment of guards from Melun, where he had been told some families were infected with the distemper. It was about this time, that their majesties, crossing the river of Neuilly in a ferry-boat,† were in

tina. See in the *Merc. Fran.* anno 1606, and in *P. Matthieu*, vol. II. b. iii. the description of the manner of performing this ceremony, and the magnificence and rejoicings which preceded and followed it. See also vol. 9361 and 9364 of the royal MSS.

* It is observed, in the *Journal of Henry IV*, that no more persons than usual died in Paris this year, which are therein computed at eight in a day; whence the author concludes, that people gave way to a groundless panic.

† “On Friday the 9th of June,” says the same *Journal*, “as the king and queen were crossing the water in the ferry-boat at Neuilly, on their return from Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the duke of Vendôme being with them, they were all three in great danger of being drowned, especially the queen, who was obliged to drink a great deal more than was agreeable to her; and had not one of her footmen, and a gentleman named la Châtaigneraie, who caught hold of her hair, desperately thrown themselves into the water to pull her out, she would inevitably have lost her life. This accident cured the king of a violent tooth-ach; and, after having escaped the danger, he diverted himself with it, saying, he had never met with so good a remedy for that disorder before, and that they had eaten too much salt meat at dinner, therefore they had a mind to make them drink after it.”

This accident happened, according to the *Merc. Frang.* because as they were going into the boat, which probably had no rail work round it, the two fore-horses, drawing towards one side, fell over board, and by their weight dragged the coach, in which were the king, the queen, the duke of Vendôme, the princess of Conti, and the duke of Montpensier, whom the rain had prevented from alighting with them. “The gentlemen who were on

danger of being drowned, which was the cause that a bridge was afterwards built there.

I staid longer this time at Sully than usual. The king, who was informed that I continued indisposed at Briecomte-robert, wrote to me on the 29th of August, and desired to know the state of my health. This prince made me captain-lieutenant of the company of gendarmes, which was formed in the queen's name, and, at my intreaty, granted a full pardon to la Saminiere. These favours alone gave him a right to require and expect every thing from me: he was much afflicted to find, that the marriage of the son of Noailles with the daughter of Roquelaure, instead of uniting those two families, proved only a source of discord between them. Henry so often and so earnestly pressed me to attempt to reconcile them, that I used my utmost endeavours for that purpose. It is the part of a good prince to keep all who are about his person united: and of a wise one, to effect this union rather by the interposition of others than by his own.

I was likewise well rewarded for my labours in the finances; the contractors giving his majesty an hundred and fifty thousand livres, and the continuance of the lease of the salt for six years produced him likewise a

“horseback,” says that historian, “threw themselves into the water, without having time to take off their clothes or swords, and hastened towards the place where they had seen the king, who, being saved from the danger, notwithstanding all the intreaty that could be made to the contrary, returned into the water to assist in getting out the queen and the duke of Vendôme. As soon as the queen had recovered a little breath, she gave a sigh, and asked where the king was. She testified her gratitude to la Châtaigneraie, whom she had observed to be particularly instrumental in saving her, by a present of jewels, and a yearly pension.”

Anno 1606, de Thou, b. cxxxvi.

gratuity of sixty thousand crowns. The king disposed of these two hundred and ten thousand livres in the following manner: eighty thousand livres were set apart for the purchase of Moret, and thirty-six thousand for some occasions of his majesty; the queen had twelve thousand, the duke of Nemours thirty, Versenai eighteen, and myself thirty thousand. I likewise received, during the course of the year, twice this sum in different gratuities.

To execute the edicts, the court of aids sent every year a deputation of counsellors into those districts where the excise was levied upon salt, in order to make a distribution and regulation thereon; to lay fines upon those whom they found exercising the trade of selling salt without license. Nor was this the only reason for sending those commissioners; for the lieutenant-general of Blois sent me word, that two of the commissioners, who were appointed to levy the excise upon salt and the other taxes for the different officers of the district, were guilty of many crimes in the discharge of their employment. To which I answered, that he was in the wrong to make a complaint without specifying any particulars; but that, however, I had sent him a regulation with regard to those two points, in order for him to show to the commissioners, which if they disobeyed, I promised to give him ample satisfaction.

The import of the regulation was, that the excise upon salt should not for the future be augmented merely upon the districts, but that the particular parishes should be specified in proportion to the number of chimnies, at the same time easing the poorer parishes of an equal sum. With regard to the contraband traders in salt, it was my opinion, that there was a distinction to

be made between them; for as those who sold the contraband salt could not be punished too severely, so those who only purchased it from the unlicensed traders, merely because they got it cheaper than the other salt, deserved to be treated with more lenity, especially when they were not taken in the fact. As to the tax upon the officers of the finances, there are two kinds of it, one upon all the officers in general, into which the king had thought proper to consent the inquiries should be commenced against them; and the other upon the elects in particular, founded upon the re-establishment of their rights, taxations, and exemptions, of several kinds. It was established by the regulation, that the first of these taxes should not be exacted for the future but by mutual consent; so that they who should declare before the officer that gave them notice of it, and afterwards before the judge or notary of the place, that they did not intend to take advantage of the king's abolition, should not be compelled to pay it; but in that case they were subject to a criminal prosecution, if they were discovered to have failed in the execution of their trust. The second tax was the same; those elects who liked better to give up the privilege of their office, were discharged from it; but they were obliged to repay whatever they might have received under that title, contrary to the edicts and establishments of the king and the states.

The commissioners sent to Rouen gave it as their opinion, that it was but reasonable to strike eleven thousand crowns off the account of the taxes of the province of Normandy, because the treasurers of France were to write to me upon this head, and had prepared to send deputies to the king, in order to obtain his approbation of this retrenchment. I answered them, that

there was no need for their taking this step, for that I would undertake to persuade his majesty thereto, who was already sufficiently inclined of himself to give them much greater marks of his affection, if the state of his affairs, and the donations he was obliged to make to a number of insatiable courtiers, had permitted him. I further promised, that I would join with them, in order to ease the provinces of a much greater sum than this, from which the poor could obtain but a very small relief. I perceived the reasonableness of the promise I had made them, when I saw a sum of two hundred and forty-six thousand three hundred and eighty-one livres joined to the taille of Provence, though it had nothing to do with it.

This sum consisted of the following articles: Thirty-three thousand livres for the bridges and causeways of the whole province, which extended both to Rouen and Caën: Thirty-seven thousand five hundred livres for the suppression of the edict on linen cloth in those two districts: Twenty-two thousand five hundred livres for the maintenance of the bridge of Rouen, raised by an assessment on those two districts; although on this account several sums were levied upon Paris and other cities: Fifteen thousand livres for the bridges of Mantes and Saint-Cloud: Thirty thousand livres for the canal of communication between the Seine and the Loire: And eight thousand three hundred and eighty-one livres for the grand provost of the province. I repeat it again, that all these different collections were foreign to the taille. And it was not reasonable, that persons who received no advantage from the public repairs, should be obliged to furnish money for them. For some years past they had considerably augmented these sums, which, in appearance, were designed for that use; but

which, in reality, remained in the purses of a few individuals, without one penny being returned to the king.

I obliged the receiver of Angoulême to be answerable for all the money which he alleged was no longer in his hands; because, had that even been true, he was not the less liable to pay it, since it could not have been legally demanded of him without letters patent from the king. Although it might happen that some things escaped me, yet Henry let nothing pass unnoticed; he had been informed that some powder had been embezzled, and he desired me to prosecute those who were guilty of that misdemeanor; it being absolutely necessary for the security of the stores in the magazines, that such practices should be punished, as being a matter of great consequence with respect to all the magazines in general. He discovered that there was carrying on in my absence a commission for recovery of the sums omitted to be received, and of false seizures: he wrote immediately to the chancellor, that the affair should be suppressed, because, as I must certainly have been acquainted with it before I went away, I would have taken some measures respecting it, if I had thought it ought to be brought in question.

Henry's expenses this year were as great as usual: I do not mean in presents of jewels suitable to so opulent a prince, for in these he did not show himself prodigal; a proof of which may be cited in the present he made to an Italian lady named Bretoline: he was desirous that this present should not be mean; but, at the same time, that the price might not exceed a thousand or twelve hundred crowns: and he wrote to me to look out for a ring for him, with the diamond cut in the form of a heart; or in any other, rather than to be cut table-fashion, because the expense would be less, and the show

greater: but his personal expenses, and those at play especially, always made up a very considerable article. I often received messages, like that of the 11th of December; Henry having lost all his money at play, sent me word in a note, of which Lomenie's nephew was the bearer, that Morand must bring him that evening two thousand pistoles. I had then excessive large accounts to settle with Parfait, for the extraordinary expenses of his household. On the 4th of October he sent me an order to pay eighty-five thousand five hundred and four livres to mademoiselle du Beuil, for which that order was to serve as a receipt. He had remitted to Zamet, as payment of the remainder of an account he was indebted to him for the year 1609, the tax of two sols six diniers, upon three bushels of salt; but as this tax did not now subsist, I was obliged to pay Zamet, this year, thirty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety-two livres, to which that old account amounted; and to pay him besides, thirty-four thousand two hundred and twenty livres, which he had since lent to his majesty, or disbursed for him. He made la Varenne a present of a thousand crowns. Villeroi, by his orders, wrote to my son, that I must pay a debt which this prince owed to Balbani, who was confined in Fort-l'Evêque; and that I must endeavour to procure his release.

Among other expenses, which did Henry more honour, I reckon those for repairing the gates of Saint-Bernard, and the Temple, and the fountains before the sessions-house, and the cross du Tiroir. His majesty had written to the prevot des marchands, that he desired this work might be finished before Midsummer. The council, I know not for what reason, gave an arret afterwards, which rendered this order ineffectual, by applying the money designed for these fountains to

paving the streets of Paris, contrary to their first intentions, when, in the contract with the paviors, it was ordered, that the sum necessary for this purpose should be levied upon the inhabitants of the city, according to the number of feet the pavement before each door consisted of; his majesty, however, insisted upon knowing why these works were delayed, and upon what account the council had committed this error.

This prince had often desired me to give him general accounts, which should contain a detail of every thing relating to my three principal offices, of superintendant of the finances, master-general of the ordnance, and superintendant of the buildings and fortifications. I took an opportunity, when he was at the Louvre, and when I thought he had but little business upon his hands, to carry him these papers: but although it was very early in the morning when I left the arsenal, yet when I came to the Louvre I found that his majesty was already gone out; I therefore sent all my papers back to the arsenal, except a very short abstract, which I intended to show him, and went to madame de Guise, to wait his return, she having often intreated me to dine with her.

It was to make a party for the chase, that Henry had risen so early that morning, and he was resolved to dine upon the partridges he should take in hawking: he used to say, that he never thought them so tender and good, as when they were taken in this manner; and especially when he could snatch them himself from the hawks. Towards the middle of the day Henry returned, extremely well satisfied with his morning's diversion, and in a gayety of humour, which his good state of health, and the happy situation of his affairs, contributed greatly to increase: he entered the great hall, holding his partridges in his hand, and cried aloud to

Coquet, (who waited there for his return, and was talking to Parfait at one end of the hall,) “Coquet, Coquet, “you must not complain of Roquelaure, Thermes, “Frontenac, Arambure, and I, for want of a dinner, “for we have brought something to treat you with; but “go immediately and order them to be dressed; give “them their share, but let eight be reserved for my “wife and I; Bonneval here shall carry them to her “from me, and shall tell her, that I am going to drink “her health: but take care and keep those birds that “are least bit by the hawks for me; there are three very fat, which I took from them myself, and which they “have scarce touched.”

As Henry was distributing his partridges, la Clielle came in, and with him Parfait, bringing in a large bason, gilt with gold, and covered with a napkin: “Sire,” cried he twice, “embrace my knees, for I have brought you “a great many and very fine ones.” “See how rejoiced “Parfait is,” said the king; “this will make him fatter “by an inch upon the ribs; I find he has brought me “some good melons; I am glad of it, for I am resolved to “eat my fill of them to-day: they never hurt me when “they are good, and when I eat them while I am very “hungry, and before meat, as the physicians direct. “I will give each of you a melon before you have your “partridges, when I have first chosen out some for my “wife and myself, and for another person to whom I “have promised some.” The king then going to his own apartment, gave a couple of melons to two boys who were at the door, whispering something in their ear at the same time: and as he came out of his long closet to go to his aviary, perceiving Fourcy, Beringhen, and la Font, the latter bringing something covered up in his hand, “La Font,” said he to him, “are you bringing

“me a ragout for my dinner?” “Yes, sire,” replied “Beringhen, “but these are raw meats, fit only to feast the eyes with.” “That is not what I want,” replied his majesty, “for I am excessively hungry, and would rather have my dinner than any other thing: but, la Font, “what is it you have wrapped up so?” Sire,” said “Fourcy, “he has got patterns of several sorts of stuffs, “carpets, and tapestry, which your best manufacturers “have undertaken to make.” “Oh!” replied Henry, “they will afford us some amusement after dinner; I “will shew them to my wife, and to another person, “whose opinion and mine do not always agree; especially when we are talking of what he calls baubles and “trifles: I believe, Fourcy,” added he, “you guess whom “I mean; I should be glad to have him present with “my wife when you show us these stuffs, it will bring “something to my remembrance which I want to communicate to them when they are together, that I may “have their opinions: he often tells me,” pursued his majesty, still speaking of me, but without naming me, “that he never thinks any thing fine or good, that costs “double its real value; and that I should be of the same “opinion with regard to all goods extremely dear: I “know what he hints at, and why he talks in this manner, although I pretend to be ignorant; but we must “suffer him to talk, for he is not a man of few words. “Fourcy, go for him immediately; or that he may be “here the sooner, send one of my coaches for him, or “your own.”

The coachman meeting one of my footman, whom I had sent to the Louvre to inquire if his majesty were returned, he came to the dutchess of Guise’s, where I had just dined: I surprised his majesty when I came in, for he did not expect to see me so soon. “You

“have made great haste,” said this prince to me, when I entered the room, where he was still at table; you “could not possibly have come directly from the arsenal.” When I told him where I had dined; “That whole family being related to you,” said he, “and loving you so much as they do for which I am very glad, I am persuaded that while they follow your counsels, as they say they are determined to do, they will never do any injury either to my person or state.” “Sire,” returned I, your majesty says this in a manner so unserved, that I see you are in a good humour, and better satisfied with me than you have been these fifteen days.” “What! you still remember that then,” interrupted Henry; “I assure you I do not; you know that our little resentments ought never to last more than a day: I am very sure that yours would not hinder you from undertaking, the very next day, to do something for my advantage in my finances. I have not,” continued he, with great gayety, “found myself so light and so easy these three months as this day; I mounted my horse without help; I have had great pleasure in the chase this morning; my hawks have flown and my greyhounds have run so well, that the former have taken a great number of young partridges, and the latter three large hares, one of the best of my hawks, which I thought lost, has been found and brought back to me: I have a very good appetite, have ate some excellent melons, and they have served me up some quails, the fattest and tenderest I have ever eaten. By letters from Province,” continued the king, to show me that every thing conspired to his happiness, “I am informed, that the seditions in Marseilles are entirely quelled; and from several other provinces I have news.

“ that there never has been so fruitful a season, and that
“ my people will grow rich, if I permit them to export
“ corn. Saint-Antoine writes me word, that the prince
“ of Wales is always talking of me, and of the friendship
“ which he promised you he would ever preserve for
“ me. From Italy I am informed, that affairs there are
“ in such a situation, that I shall have the honour of re-
“ conciling the pope and the Venetians. Bongars writes
“ me word from Germany, that the new king of Sweden
“ is upon better terms with his subjects; and that the land-
“ grave of Hesse acquires every day new friends and allies.
“ Buzenval has written to Villeroi, that both the Spaniards
“ and Flemings are brought so low, that they will soon
“ be obliged to listen to proposals for a peace, or a truce,
“ of which I must necessarily be the mediator and guar-
“ antee: and thus begin to render myself the arbitrator
“ of all the differences among the princes of Christen-
“ dom. And for an increase of satisfaction,” said this
“ prince gayly, “ behold me here at table, surrounded
“ with all these persons you see,” (for he had with him
du Laurens, du Perron the younger, Gutron, des Yve-
teaux, Chaumont, and the fathers Cotton and Gonthier)
“ of whose affection for me I am well assured, and who,
“ as you know, are capable of entertaining me with
“ useful as well as agreeable conversation; which shall
“ not, however, hinder me from talking of business as
“ soon as I have dined, for then I will listen to every bo-
“ dy, and will satisfy all, if reason and justice can do it.”

I found, by some other things his majesty said, that the company had turned the conversation upon him in particular, and had alike praised him for his great qualities, and congratulated him upon his good fortune. It would be difficult, I said, to find better judges than

they were. "However," said Henry, "I did not suffer
"all they said to pass without contradiction." And he
confessed, that all their praises of him could not de-
stroy his consciousness that he had many faults; and
as to their compliments upon his good fortune, he told
them, that if they had been with him from the time his
father died, they would have been sensible that part of
those compliments might have been spared, for that his
miserable moments had far surpassed his happy ones.
This led Henry to a reflection he used often to make,
that he had not yet suffered so much by his declared
enemies as by the ingratitude and desertion of many,
who, he said, were either his friends, allies, or subjects.
The young du Perron, who in these last words found
ample matter for his eloquence to display itself, began
to treat this subject like a theologian or preacher, and
even a mystic: "You have delivered your sentiments,"
said I, when he concluded, "in so lofty a style, that
"nothing can be added to your discourse." I then
maintained to him, as well as to all the company, agreea-
ble to what his majesty had just said, or rather to what
I had myself been a witness of, that this prince had en-
joyed less tranquillity during the peace, than he did in
all the troubles and alarms of war. "Rosny, said the
king to me, "if you will put a few words upon this sub-
"ject on paper, I will show it to some incredulous per-
"sons." I replied, that it required some time to do
that, and likewise might not be received favourably by
every one. To this I added some other plain truths
upon religion and policy; and the misery with which
France was threatened if she should lose her king;
which I believe was still less pleasing to the courtiers,
than what I had said before.

This conversation, which, from being gay and lively, had taken a very serious turn, was interrupted by the queen, who had left her chamber, and was going to her closet. The king rising from table, went to meet her, saying, "Well, my dear, were not the melons, partridges, and quails, I sent you, very good? if your appetite has been as keen as mine, you have dined extremely well; I never ate so much as I have done to-day, nor was ever in a better humour; ask Rosny, he will tell you the occasion of it, and will acquaint you with the news I have received, and the conversation we have had." The queen, who was likewise more than usually cheerful, replied, that to contribute, on her side, to divert his majesty, she had been making preparations for a ballet and an interlude of her own invention; the ballet was to represent the felicity of the golden age; and the interlude, the amusements of the four seasons of the year. "I do not say," added she, "that I have not had a little assistance; for Duret and la Clavelle have been with me the whole morning, while you were at the chase." "How charmed am I to see you in this humour, my dear!" said Henry to her; "I beseech you let us always live together in this manner." Fourcy was then ordered to show the patterns for the stuffs and tapestry. The king desired the queen to tell him her opinion of them; and turning to me, "I know what yours is already," said he; "but now let us see your abstracts of accounts."

Of these there were three, the same number with the general accounts; this is a simple sketch of this undertaking; in the first, which regarded the superintendancy of the buildings and fortifications, the king found what was contained in the general account; 1st, a me-

morial of all the fortifications made on the frontiers since the direction had been in my hands; 2d, of all the buildings and royal houses; 3d, of all the furniture, hangings, gold and silver plate, which I had collected for him. The second compendium, which related to the finances, was an index to the memoirs; 1st, of the changes and improvements which I had made in all the different parts of the king's finances and revenues; 2d, of all the gold and silver money actually in the treasury; 3d, of the improvements which I had still to make, and of the sums which I hoped to add to the former. The third compendium, which related to the office of the master-general, showed the particulars of the general account; 1st, of pieces of six different calibres deposited in my arsenal, and of all that related to the cannons; 2d, of the number of bullets, with the means of keeping all the train of artillery, and employing them, in good order; 3d, of the quantity of three sorts of gunpowder commonly used; 4th, of the quantity of arms, tools, and instruments of the train of artillery; 5th, of the number of soldiers, as well gentlemen as volunteers, whom the king could set on foot, reckoned according to the division of the kingdom.

That the reader may the better understand what has been said a little higher, with respect to Spain and the United Provinces, it is necessary to notice what passed this year in Flanders.* The Spaniards, to whom the army destined for the expedition of Sedan had given great umbrage, finding that they had nothing to apprehend from that quarter, the marquis Spinola set out from Genoa on the sixth of May, that he might arrive

* Consult de Thou, the *Merc. Frang.* anno 1606, and Siri, *ibid.* on this subject.

in Flanders on the 19th. The siege of Rhimberg, which the Spaniards undertook this year, was the only considerable action performed this campaign: at first the besieged defended themselves with their usual vigour, and made several sallies, by which two Spanish colonels lost their lives; the name of one of them was Thores, and the other commanded the new *terse*,* which came from Sayoy. This bold defence made the event of the siege appear very doubtful, at best it was thought that it would be protracted a long time; Spinola was of this opinion, and the king supposed that Rhimberg would not surrender before the 20th of October; however, they capitulated the beginning of this month. If the courier was to be credited, who, the next day after the reduction of this city, was sent by Spinola to carry the news to Madrid, and who passed through Paris in his way, the besieged had not more than six tons of powder left; but, it must be confessed, that the Dutch did not, upon this occasion, exert the valour they had done in the preceding years; they were indeed dispirited and weary of the war. The garrison, which was left by the senate to its own conduct, were satisfied with obtaining, that they should be permitted to march out with all marks of honour, such as carrying away their cannon, &c. They threw all the blame of their surrender upon the prince of Orange, who, they said, would neither succour the place, nor give any disturbance to the Spanish army. This reproach was not wholly without cause; prince Maurice's reputation suffered greatly from his inaction during this siege, and the whole cam-

* The word *terse*, which is made use of in two or three places of Sully's Memoirs, signifies a battalion, or several companies of foot forming one corps.

paign. This ought not, however, to excite surprise, when we consider that the United Provinces were reduced to such extremities, that it was not possible for them to carry on the war much longer. All the letters from Buzenval and Berny* confirmed this truth; and public report did not exaggerate things in this respect. It was no less certain, that Spain was no longer in a condition to take advantage of their weakness. The sieges of Ostend and Sluys had opened two wounds on both sides which they had never been able to close. In Flanders a peace was publicly talked of; and those who till then had shown themselves most against it, were, to their own astonishment, insensibly brought to approve of it. They now left off soliciting with ardour the assistance of France; or to place that reliance upon our promises which they formerly had. I am persuaded, that the still recent remembrance of all the obligations they lay under to his majesty, was one of the chief causes of delaying a peace or a truce, which, but for that consideration, would have been concluded this year. A misunderstanding between the prince of Orange and Barnevelt, which divided the council of the States into two parties, contributed also to this delay; the former would not hear of a peace, and the latter cried out against a war. This opposition was the cause likewise that the council of France could take no resolutions with respect to the affairs of Flanders, since it was not possible to serve one party without injuring the other.

Buzenval returned to Paris the beginning of December, charged with a great number of proposals. His majesty not knowing well what to resolve upon, sent

* Brulard, lord of Berny.

him to the arsenal, where I was confined to my chamber, to confer with me upon them. I confess I was no less perplexed than the king; I saw plainly that, if there was any resolution to be taken, with respect to the peace between Spain and the United Provinces, this was the time for it: but in what manner should we act, or how second the designs of a people without strength, without union amongst themselves, and so destitute of advice, that, as it was plain, not being able to agree upon the choice of the deputies to be sent to his majesty, our own agent to them was obliged to take this commission upon himself: shall we prevail upon these provinces to submit to the French domination, and so make their quarrel our own? But is not this to engage rashly in a war with the whole house of Austria, the event of which would be so much the more doubtful, as the countries necessary to be possessed were at the greater distance from our own; as we had yet no preparations made for entering the territories of our enemies, nor vessels to invade them by sea, except those belonging to the States: shall we be contented with receiving a certain number of towns, either as a security, or in perpetual possession, to indemnify us for what money and stores we had advanced, as Buzenval offered in their name? This proposal has all the inconveniences of the first, without any of its advantages; we should besides have numerous garrisons to maintain, because these towns would be doubtless upon the frontiers, where the Flemings would behold us with almost as bad an eye as the Spaniards themselves, of which we have a very recent example, in their behaviour to the English in the like circumstance. In whatever manner we disguise any resolution which necessarily leads

to a war with Spain, it will as infallibly bring England upon us, as soon as we seem desirous of getting a footing, and making an establishment in the Low Countries; but that we might have nothing to fear either from the one or the other, it was necessary that our first attempt should be to make ourselves, by one stroke, masters of the sea against the Spaniards, and in a case of absolute necessity, against the English likewise. I believe I could then have engaged my head, that having nothing more to attack or defend but on the side of the Meuse, Spain would have entirely lost the Low Countries. But what great expenses, and what prodigious efforts must necessarily be made, ere this could be accomplished! I am still persuaded that we might, without giving umbrage to our neighbours, and without suffering any greater inconvenience from Spain, than complaints and murmurs, have still continued secretly to favour the States, as we did at present: but besides that the sums we advanced for them, must be increased in proportion as their power and strength diminished, all the advantage we could hope for from it, would be merely to retard the peace for some years. In the present state of things, there was no other alternative, but an accommodation between Spain and the United Provinces, or a war between us and Spain: with respect to this accommodation, there were still two parts for us to take, either to suffer it to be made without our interposition, or to appear to be the mediators of it; the second was the most reasonable, and this was in the end embraced: but at the time of which I am speaking, the king was very far from approving this stroke of policy; and, in one sense, it was that which presented the greatest difficulties.

These were almost all the reflections I made to the king, who desired to know my opinion of Buzenval's deputation. I put them in writing, because I was not able to wait upon his majesty: it was not my fault, if this paper was not entirely satisfactory. We left it to time to bring matters to a conclusion, but they continued in the same doubtful state till the following year. The United Provinces made some small presents by Aërsens to the king and queen, for which his majesty sent them his thanks, and made a present, by the queen, to Aërsens' wife, of four hundred crowns in jewels. Aërsens, by his master's orders, presented the king with a relation of a voyage which the Dutch had lately made to the East Indies.

I have nothing to say respecting Germany, than that the duke of Wirtemberg found the good effects of the king's protection: Montglat was his majesty's agent in that country; for as to Bongars, who was there also, and who had written a letter from Metz to me, which Henry read, because it was open, this prince would not permit him to stay in that city, nor in any other place, he said, where he might preach his doctrine.

All England was thrown into a consternation, by the discovery of a plot, carried on by the Jesuits Garnet and Oldecorne, with several other Englishmen, against the king's person; the conspirators having resolved to blow up his majesty and the chief lords of the kingdom, when they were all assembled in the parliament-house, under which they had lodged barrels, and prepared trains of gun-powder.*

* See Birch's *Negotiations*, p. 235, et seqq. for many particulars respecting the gun-powder plot.

BOOK XXIV.

1607.

I. Occupations and letters of Henry IV. Death of the chancellor Bellievre. Birth of the second son of France. Henry's friendship for Sully, and his great confidence in him: a quarrel between them, in which Henry first seeks a reconciliation.—II. Sully does the king great service in the assembly of the Protestants at Rochelle, in the dispute between father Séguiran and the Rochellers. New grants made by Henry to the Jesuits. Plots carried on by Spain, in the court and the council, against Henry and Sully: a conversation between them on this subject; and Sully's advice to the king: he does the king other services in the quarrels which happen at court.—III. A farther account of the war between Spain and the United Provinces. Sully's sentiments concerning the offers made by the Flemings to the king: a council is held on that occasion. The Flemings gain a naval victory over the Spaniards. Conferences for a suspension of arms, and for a truce.—IV. A farther account of the disputes of Spain, the Grisons, and the Valtoline. Affairs of Germany, England, and other foreign states. The quarrel between the pope and the Venetians terminated by the mediation of Henry. Brief of Paul V to Sully.—V. Sully's labours in the finances, the police, and other parts of government. Artifices of the courtiers to ruin him: he forms the scheme of a new council, which is not carried into execution. Other affairs of the finances, government, &c. Henry's expenses in gaming, in manufactures, &c. His private life and domestic uneasiness. He restores Sedan to the duke of Bouillon.

I. **ALL** the affairs of the kingdom were this year so free from disturbance, that they afford us scarce any remarkable event to relate; but, to compensate for this, they present us with a scene, which, notwithstanding its uniformity, is more striking than uncommon catastrophes, in which the writer or the reader is only entertained with repeated acts of inhumanity or corruption, such acts as can excite no other emotion than those of horror and disgust. This striking scene is the plenty and the quiet with which all France was overspread:

never were there known so many pleasures and diversions as appeared this winter in Paris and at court; and the same tokens of a happy reign were discovered likewise over all the kingdom. This happiness which derived its source from the benevolent disposition of Henry, reflected in its turn upon him, and gave him back part of the benefits he bestowed. Disengaged from the hurry and tumult of war, till the time prescribed by himself to complete the glory of his reign should arrive, he had little else to do but to resign himself to the calm pleasures of a private life, amongst his faithful servants, and in his different palaces, which he visited successively one after the other: he was at Saint-Germains on the first of January, whither I could not go to pay my accustomed compliments to their majesties; the wound I had formerly received in my mouth opened by an imposthume, which confined me to my house. His majesty had the goodness to write to me, to let me know how greatly he was concerned for my indisposition, and sent two of his ministers, whom he chiefly employed, to confer with me upon the affairs of government, the plan of which he always formed in the beginning of the year. These two ministers were Villeroi and the keeper of the seals; for Sillery, whom I have already distinguished by this title, had been associated by his majesty with Bellievre in the office of chancellor, till, by the death of that minister, which it was foreseen, was not far off, he should fill the employment alone. Bellievre, once remarkable for the strength of his understanding, had been for some time so greatly altered, that it was necessary to give him a successor, while he was still alive: he bore this association so impatiently, although Sillery behaved with the utmost politeness to him, as afforded a new proof his incapacity

to act alone.* His weakness increased daily; and returning again to a state of infancy, he paid at length the last tribute to nature, after having paid almost all the others.

The king came to Paris on the 2d of January, with a design to carry the queen to Vigny, but I dissuaded him from this journey, and he contented himself with making a tour to Fontainebleau, from whence he returned to Paris towards the end of February, in order to go to Chantilly, which was his ordinary residence during the month of March, it being very pleasant there in that season. In a letter he wrote to me from that place, dated March the 8th, he tells me, that the weather there was very fine; that he was every day on horseback, and passed his time very agreeably. He fixed no where, till, after returning to Paris on the 20th of March, he set out immediately for Fontainebleau, where he staid the spring. He had fine weather during his journey from Paris to Fleury, whither he went to visit his children,

* “ You see,” said he to M. Bassompierre, “ a man going to seek his grave in Paris. I have served as long as I was able; and now, when I am found no longer fit for service, I am sent to my repose, and to take care of the salvation of my soul, which the doing other people’s business did not give me time to think of before: a chancellor without seals is like an apothecary without drugs.” *Journal de Bassompierre.*

When Henry IV required the seals of M. de Bellievre, in order to bestow them on Sillery, he took the opportunity his journey to the Limosin afforded him for it, the great age and weakness of Bellievre not permitting him to follow the king in it: the chancellor said, “ If his majesty would not make the seals ride post, he would take care to deliver them in time wherever his majesty should be. You seem, sir,” added he, “ to be afraid there is not ground enough in Guienne to bury me: I am in good health, and have no desire to live longer than I can be of service to you; but I should think life a burden to me should you think fit to discharge me.” *P. Matt. Tome II. liv. iii. p. 688.* This great chancellor, whose probity and steadiness were universally acknowledged, had served under five kings. He was the author of many useful regulations in the chancery. He died the 5th of September, in the following year, aged 78 years. He was born at Lyons.

who were in that palace; but from thence to Fontainebleau the rain accompanied him all the way. In the letter in which his majesty gave me a detail of this journey, he likewise informed me that the dauphin had come a league to meet him; that he found him very handsome; as likewise his other children; that the queen, who was then with child, was very well in health; and that they expected to be very soon at Fontainebleau. "Send me the news of the city;" said this prince, in another letter dated the 1st of April. "My wife and I are in good health, as are likewise my son and the rest of my children, who are the prettiest creatures in the world, and give me infinite pleasure.*

The queen was delivered on the 16th of April, at 11 o'clock at night, of her second son, who was afterwards called the duke of Orleans.† Montmartin brought me the news of it immediately, in a letter from his majesty; and almost in the same moment I received a second from him, in which he commanded me to cause the cannon to be fired. The birth of this prince redoubled the joy of the royal family; the king, who had intended to return to Paris in the beginning of May, thought no longer of quitting Fontainebleau, from whence he only took a journey to visit madame de Moret.

Hunting was, as usual, his favourite diversion: although this exercise is not in my taste, yet I shall not venture to pronounce that it is not a very agreeable amusement, since so great a number of persons find an

* Perefexie says, "He loved all his children, legitimate, and natural, with equal affection, but with different consideration: he would not suffer them to call him Monsieur; a title which seems to estrange children from their father, and to denote servitude and subjection, but ordered them to call him Papa, a name of love and tenderness."

† He had no baptismal name, dying in his fifth year, before he was baptised.

invincible attraction in it. The account that Praslin sent me from Fontainebleau, of the parties his majesty had engaged in, was not very likely to alter my opinion of it. In one of his letters he gave me a relation of the manner in which his majesty had spent one day: all the morning he had passed in hawking, he hunted the wolf in the afternoon, and concluded the day with the chase of a stag, which had lasted till night, and in the midst of a shower of rain that continued three or four hours; they were then six leagues from any place where they could lodge, and were obliged to ride from thence, wet through with rain, except the king only, who changed all his clothes before he came to Fontainebleau, where he arrived a little fatigued indeed, but in high spirits, and perfectly satisfied, because he had that day taken all that he had attacked. This is what princes call diversion; but we must not dispute their tastes or pleasures. The preceding day's fatigue did not prevent Henry from employing himself all the next morning in visiting his workmen, and running from one work-room to another. "It is certain," added Praslin, "that at his return from the park he felt some slight touches of a fever; but this was nothing to him." Henry, when he wrote to me on this subject, showed himself a true sportsman, for he always slightly passed over his fatigues, and dwelt upon what he called his successes; for example, he wrote to me, on the 20th of May, that he had hunted the day before with infinite pleasure, and had not been incommoded with the heat; that he had taken his stag very early, dined at Ponthierry at ten o'clock, and at half an hour after two returned to Fontainebleau, where he found the queen, who had come to meet him. Another time he says, in one of his letters, "I have just taken a stag, amidst great heat, and with

“great satisfaction.” Predominant passions are always thought cheaply gratified, be the purchase ever so dear.

This prince, however, was not so much engrossed by his pleasures as to neglect any of his affairs; but as at that time they gave him but very little trouble, all he had to do was to write to me, or send for me to Fontainebleau, when he had any important affair to communicate to me; he sent for me and the president Jeanin on Easter-Wednesday, and ordered his council to attend him there on the Monday after Easter. He never forgot to reward any additional trouble, by new instances of his bounty: “I will not,” he wrote to me, “wait for requests from those by whom I am served with diligence and fidelity; you assist me so well in my affairs, that it is fit I should assist you likewise in yours; I therefore assign you twenty thousand crowns out of the money arising from the extraordinary branches of my revenue: cause the necessary dispatches for it to be made out.” In another letter he says, “I hear you are building at la Chapelle, and making a park there; as a friend to builders, and as your good master, I make you a present of six thousand crowns, to help you to do something handsome there.”

There is another sort of letters which I received from Henry, that are far higher in my estimation, since the confidence of so great a prince ought by a faithful or affectionate minister to be preferred to presents; such are those in which he opened his heart to me, and confided to me his dearest interests. In one of these letters he thus expresses himself: “A thought has occurred to me this morning, which makes it necessary for me to see you, and consult you, as the most faithful and affectionate of all my servants.” It was the same with

every thing that happened to disturb his quiet. My son happened to hurt himself in endeavouring to break a horse; his majesty sent a courier expressly to know the state of his health, writing to me, that as a father and a master he took all imaginable interest in it. My son was still more dangerously ill in November; and the king, not satisfied with sending du Laurens, his first physician, to him, and recommending him in the most earnest manner to his care, wrote to me, that I was so dear to him, that if he imagined his presence was in the least necessary, he would come himself, to give me this proof of his affection: and with great goodness allowed me not only to defer my journey to Fontainebleau for two days, but for all the time that I could be useful to my son.

In the unhappy affair that happened at Amiens, where Rambures murdered my nephew d'Epinoi, the king being informed of the excessive affliction into which this cruel accident had plunged the brother of the deceased,* sent a person to visit him in his name, and three several times afterwards sent him compliments of condolence. Some incendiaries had endeavoured to excite the whole family of Epinoi against the count of St. Paul,† whom they accused of having had a hand in the assassination of my nephew. Saint Paul, justly offend-

* Of several sons sprung from the marriage of Peter de Melun, prince of Epinoi, marquis of Richebourg, and Hyppolita of Montmorency, of whom (as has been before mentioned) M. de Sully had taken the guardianship, only two then remained alive; William de Melun, prince of Epinoi, viscount of Gand, constable of Flanders, grand bailiff of Hainault, knight of the order of the golden fleece, &c. it was he who had the great law-suit with the princess of Ligne, which will be mentioned hereafter; and Henry de Melun, marquis of Richebourg, his younger brother, who was killed by Rambures.

† Francis d'Orleans, count of St. Paul

ed at these reports, came to his majesty, and, with all that generous confidence which innocence inspires, cleared himself of the imputed crime, by proving that he was in Calais when it was committed: he spoke of the unhappy victim of this cruelty and artifice with praises, and with a grief so sincere, that I myself regretted he was not at Amiens, where he said he might have prevented this accident: he protested that he would willingly have shed part of his own blood to have preserved the unfortunate d'Epinoi. He afterwards complained that his enemies, besides the other injurious reports they had propagated, gave out that his majesty had resolved to have him examined in a court of justice, and had promised to treat him with great severity; that I had determined to behave to him with contempt, and that he would be prohibited from coming to Paris while I was there. Saint Paul staid three whole days in Paris, to remove the suspicions that had been conceived of him. I thought he behaved like a brave and gallant man, upon this occasion; and I believe he was very well satisfied with the manner in which I treated him. Henry was as much interested in this affair as if it had concerned him personally; he cleared up the whole conduct of Saint Paul to me, and in a letter he wrote to me at that time, desired me not to give credit to any reports that should come from the bastile, where my enemies had no other view but to join a second misfortune to the first. He exhorted me to take advantage of the confidence Saint Paul seemed to have in me, to prevent the affair from having any bad consequence.

I was still confined to my house by this unfortunate accident, when the king came to me one day to confer with me about some affairs of gallantry, which I have

forgot; all I remember is, that I expressed myself in very severe terms against madame d'Angoulesme* and another person, who were principally concerned in it; and that I was bold enough to represent to Henry, that amours, which so little suited with his age and dignity, were so many baneful wounds to his glory, and probably would end in something still more fatal. My freedom, often graciously received, produced nothing this time but an extreme rage in Henry, and drew upon myself the most lively reproaches from him. He left my chamber in such wrath, that he was heard to say aloud, and with great emotion, "It is impossible to bear with this man any longer; he is eternally contradicting me, and approves of nothing I propose: but, by heaven, I will make him obey me; he shall not appear in my presence these fifteen days." My disgrace appeared to all that were present as a thing absolutely resolved on. My servants were all afflicted; but many others, I believe, inwardly rejoiced at it.

At seven o'clock the next morning, the king came to the arsenal, with five or six persons, whom he brought with him in his coach. He would not allow my people to give me notice of his arrival; but walked up to my apartment, and tapped at my closet-door himself. Upon my asking, "Who is there?" he replied, "It is the king." I knew his voice and was not a little surprised at this visit. "Well, what are you doing here?" said he, entering with Roquelaure, de Vic, Zamet, la Varenne, and Erard the engineer; for he had occasion to speak to me about the fortifications of Calais. I replied, that I was writing letters, and preparing work for my se-

* Charlotte de Montmorency, wife of Charles de Valois, duke of Angoulesme.

cretaries. And, indeed, my table was all overspread with letters and statements of affairs, which I was to lay before the council that day. "And how long have you been thus employed?" said his majesty. "Ever since three o'clock," I replied. "Well Roquelaure," said he, turning to him, "for how much money would you lead this life?" "Faith, sire, not for all your treasures," replied Roquelaure. Henry made no answer; but commanding every one to retire, he began to confer with me upon matters in which it was impossible for me to be of his opinion; and this he easily perceived when I told him coldly, that I had no advice to give: that his majesty having, doubtless, taken his resolution after mature deliberation, all that remained to be done was to obey him, since he was displeased when my sentiments happened not to agree with his. "Oh, oh," said Henry, smiling, and giving me a little tap on the cheek, "you are upon the reserve with me, and are angry at what happened yesterday: however, I am so no longer with you; come, come, embrace me and live with me in the same familiarity as usual; for I love you not the less for it: on the contrary, from the moment that you cease to contend with me on occasions, where I am convinced you cannot approve my conduct, I shall believe you no longer love me."

It is circumstances like these that serve to discover the bottom of Henry's character; and, indeed, to relate them is to show him in his fairest light. It is common enough to see the ministers and favourites of princes fall into disgrace: it is likewise common to see them deserve such usage by a criminal conduct. On these occasions, can it be said that the punishment is the consequence of a fault? this is seldom the case. That

which ought to be done, merely upon principles of justice, is often the effect of caprice, levity, and ill humour; for reason seems to be equally incapable of making herself heard, when she opposes the passions, or when she joins with them.

The king afterwards conversed with me upon affairs which it is not permitted me to relate here; then embracing me, he bid me farewell. As he went out of my closet, he told de Vic that he had provided for the fortifications of Calais; and raising his voice, "There are people," said he, "foolish enough to fancy, that when I show any resentment against M. de Sully, I am really in earnest, and that it will hold a long time; but they are greatly deceived: for when I reflect that he never makes me any remonstrances, or contradicts me but for my honour, my grandeur, and the advantage of my affairs, and with no view to his own interest, I love him the more for his freedom, and am impatient till I tell him so." A prince who understands his own interests, should thus from time to time give striking marks of his esteem for the minister he has made choice of: provided that choice be really good, it will likewise secure to him that of the public, which is a very essential point.

I. I now return to those affairs on which Villeroi and Sillery were, by the king's order, to confer with me. One of the most important related to the Protestants: the king having in the preceding year granted them permission to hold a convocation in this, they were summoned to meet at Rochelle; and the deputies of which it was to be composed, were appointed in the provincial assemblies. It was from some of these very deputies his majesty received notice that the article of the convocation at Gap concerning the pope, of which so much has been

already said, was expressed in their papers. However ill-affected a part of those who bore the greatest sway in this assembly might be, they judged it necessary to send three deputies to his majesty, as well upon this affair, as some others which they knew would not be agreeable to him. The matter was this: they had determined to bring again under examination the question which had been already discussed with so much warmth at the assembly of Chatelleraut, concerning the nomination and number of the Protestant deputies-general, and the duration of their office, as the time for which the present two were to be employed was nearly expired.

The king by sending the private deputies to me from Fontainebleau, where he then was, followed his usual custom on such occasions, which was to make me acquaint the assembly with his intentions, as from myself; and out of a principle of affection for my brethren, resolving, if he could not succeed by these means, to make use of his authority. On the 27th of April, my brother was sent by his majesty to confer with me; but, as I was still in expectation of seeing the king himself at Paris, I kept the deputies two or three days without giving them an answer, which I should have been glad to have concerted first with his majesty. On the 5th of May I had a letter from him, in which he told me that he had altered his design of coming to Paris, and seemed impatient to know what I had done with the deputies. “I know already,” said he, “all they could say to you in answer to those representations which, in the letter I sent you by your brother, I directed you to make them. M. de la Nouë, to whom I spoke yesterday in the presence of M. de Ville-roi, repeated to me the greatest part of what passed. He tells me, he never saw so many fools in one set of men,

“ and named Rivet among others. It cannot be doubted
“ but that the deputies, before they saw you, consulted
“ first with M. du Plessis, who instructed them what to
“ say.”

I wrote such a letter to the assembly as his majesty required of me: I exhorted them not to arrogate to themselves any power, with regard to the article concerning the general deputies, which belonged to the police, or the government: I represented to them that the offices of the general deputies ought to last three years, less time not being sufficient to give them a thorough knowledge of affairs; and that they ought not to content themselves with naming two deputies only; because as the choice was not confirmed by the general assemblies till private ones had been first consulted, (a formality that took up a great deal of time,) if any accident happened to one of these deputies, the party would want an agent with the king; therefore if, instead of two, they always proposed six to his majesty, the vacancy would be supplied immediately by his naming one of the six pointed to him in the list. With regard to the pope, I remonstrated to them, that by again urging a question which had been already pronounced useless and disrespectful to the pope, who by his gentle and pacific character merited a quite different treatment, they ran the danger of losing, through their own faults, and for a trifle of no consideration, that calm and happy condition which had so long been the end of their wishes. I referred them to the sentiments they had formerly acknowledged, and concluded my letter by representing to them, in the most forcible manner I could, that disobedience of any kind to their master was dangerous; but that an unjust and unreasonable disobedience would infallibly end in their destruction.

I likewise got some other persons, whose influence with the party I was sensible was greater than mine, to write to them in the same terms, and intreat them to hear, and consider with attention, the arguments Montmartin had to add to theirs. I fixed upon him to be the bearer of this letter; and his majesty, on this occasion, thought him qualified to be the interpreter of his will to the assembly. I likewise made use of another motive to influence their resolutions, which his majesty expected would have some weight; and this was, that as the Rochellers had lately solicited the grant of two thousand livres for their college, I gave them to understand, that his majesty would judge by the respect and deference which they induced their brethren to pay to his orders, whether they merited this favour from him. Some days afterwards, I received a letter from the king, in which he informed me, that Montmartin and the deputies sent by him had been indeed tolerably well received by the assembly, but that they had not shown all the respect they ought to have done, either to the speeches of the first, or to my letters, and those that were added to them, the authors of which had been styled in derision, *The four prophets of the church*. The accounts Montmartin sent from time to time of the disposition of the assembly were not more to Henry's satisfaction. "If this holds," says he in a letter to me, "they will be kings, and we the assemblies." However, that party which was for the king carried it at last. The zeal Montmartin exerted in this assembly was rewarded by the king with a pension, although it could not be said that his success was complete with regard to the obstacles he had surmounted: yet he thought he had done all that was possible to be done. since he was able to declare to his ma-

jesty that his will had been obeyed. "Montmartin," says Henry in a letter to me, "has taken great pains in "this affair, though to little purpose, which he will not "believe: he has brought the shadow, but the substance "remains; the article of Gap having gained no more "than two voices."

The church of Pons gave an instance of great boldness, when, by ridiculously applying to herself the manner of governing in religious affairs by deputies-general, she took the liberty to name three persons to the king, Verac, Longchamp, and Bertauville, to be invested in quality of particular deputies, with the government of that city. Henry answered only by his edicts: but he was not less offended with this insolence, than at the informations he received of the private conferences held together by Lesdiguieres and Murat; as likewise of the disrespect shown by the minister Chamier to the Constable, in passing through Montelimar. I afterwards made this minister clear himself to Henry of the faults that had been charged upon him.

Towards the close of this year, the Rochellers gave the king another cause of disgust with them, by writing in a body, without his majesty's knowledge or mine, to the king of England, to solicit the release of a Scotch minister, named Melvil,* who had been imprisoned in the

* This was Andrew Melvil, a most violent and bigotted disciple of the church of Geneva. In 1575 he came from thence into Scotland, where through his fiery zeal, and attempts to introduce the discipline of his church, he was continually occasioning broils among the clergy. The reader will find a full account of all his proceedings in Spottiswood's History. He was one of the ministers ordered from Scotland to attend the conference at Hampton-court in 1606, and in the same year he wrote and circulated certain satirical verses against the rites observed in the service of

Tower of London for having published some injurious writings against the king and his council. The Rochellers had nothing to say in their own defence, against a fact which the minister Primrose himself, who had carried their dispatches to England, confessed to his majesty, and was, in consideration of this confession, permitted by the king to exercise the ministerial functions at Bourdeaux: but what rendered the Rochellers still more criminal, was, that they attempted to give this prisoner a retreat in their city, and to allow him to preach in their churches; which carried in it such an affectation of independence as was wholly inexcusable. The king of England did not require much intreaty to grant to a city he had an affection for, so small a favour as the enlargement of a stranger* he was glad to have out of his kingdom; nor am I certain that the council of London did not find a secret satisfaction in making the king of France such a present: but Henry, besides the consideration of his authority, which was wounded by such a procedure, had the same reason for not re-

the king's chapel, which being carried to his majesty by one of the chaplains, he was cited before the council, who charged him with being an enemy to both the church and state: here he behaved with so much insolence and disrespect, that they sent him to the Tower, where he remained three years, and was at last released, Spottiswood says, through the intercession of the duke of Bouillon, and permitted to retire to Sedan, where he lived in no great respect till his death. This proves that much of what is said in the text above, is incorrect. EDIT.

* The reader has seen from the above note, that Melvin was certainly no "stranger" to James; this, however, is not Sully's term, but that of the compiler of these Memoirs; for the whole of this affair being contained in three letters from Villeroi to Sully, the compiler, in order to bring it into a connected narrative, has been obliged (as in numerous other similar cases) to introduce sentences and opinions of his own, for which he had not the slightest authority. EDIT.

ceiving him into his dominions, as king James had for driving him out of his. He sent Bullion to confer with me upon this affair, which was also the subject of many letters I received from him, or from Villeroi by his orders. I was likewise commissioned by the king to demand from the Rochellers an explanation of this conduct, to reproach them with their termerity, and to prevail upon them to implore a pardon for it of his majesty, who appeared perfectly satisfied with every step I took in this affair.

Among many real faults charged upon that city, it was found that there were some groundless and unproved imputations. The Jesuits being desirous of sending one of their society to preach in Rochelle, la Varenne, father Cotton, and some others, chose father Seguiran* for that purpose; and, that they might not hazard a refusal from his majesty, they applied to Beaulieu and Fresne, the two secretaries of state, who, by their own authority, and without mentioning it to his majesty, delivered to this father letters by which he was entitled to preach in Rochelle. The Jesuit accordingly presented himself at the city gates, and being asked who he was, replied boldly, "I am Seguiran, of the company of Jesus, who, by virtue of the king's letters, am come to preach in this city." "Go back again," said the sentinel very disrespectfully, "we know very well that Jesus had no companions, and that you have no letters from the king." The Rochellers, without hearing more, obliged the father to go back. Seguiran in a rage threatened to complain to the king, and did not fail to keep his word. He was so well seconded by his partisans at court, who,

* Gasper Seguiran, afterwards confessor to Lewis XIII.

concealing all or part of the truth from his majesty, exaggerated the disrespect that had been shown to his orders, in such a manner, that Henry, in a letter, which expressed great rage and impatience, desired I would immediately attend him at Fontainebleau.

I found the court in an uproar, and the king surrounded by persons who used their utmost endeavours to keep up his resentment. "So," said he, as soon as he saw me, "your people at Rochelle have acted in a strange manner: see the respect they show me, and the gratitude they express for the friendship I have discovered for them, and the favours they have received from me." He then related the fact to me, with an air that showed he was determined to chastise them for the fault; but afterwards taking me aside, "I have been obliged to appear angry," said he, "to silence those who are solicitous to find something to blame in my conduct. But the Rochellers have not been entirely in the wrong; for I neither gave orders for those letters, nor was informed of their intention to procure them; if I had, I should have taken care to prevent their being granted. However, you must think of some means to settle this matter, without discovering what the secretaries of state have done; for that will produce bad consequences for all their other dispatches."

After settling with his majesty what was fittest to be done, I wrote to the citizens of Rochelle, that it was absolutely necessary they should make some submission to the king, and assure him of their sorrow for having offended him. I hinted to them, that by a little obedience this affair would end advantageously for them: I assured them that the letters had been granted without his ma-

jesty's knowledge, but that they should have no farther trouble of that kind, and that the king would put an end to this without encroaching upon their privileges: and, lastly, that I would take all imaginable care to manage their interests, with two or three of their best and wisest citizens, whom I desired them to send to me. The method I took, was to procure father Seguiran other letters signed by his majesty himself, by virtue of which he preached at Rochelle a few days, at the end of which he was recalled; a medium with which the Jesuits themselves did not appear dissatisfied. But it was extremely difficult to find one that would content the city of Poitiers. From the time that this city had been constrained to admit the Jesuits, I was fatigued with repeated complaints of these fathers from the bishop, the lieutenant-general, and the principal inhabitants, either separately or in a body. These complaints, which were not made by the Protestants only, but even by the Catholics themselves, turned chiefly upon the great number of partisans the Jesuits had gained at Poitiers, who on their arrival had given them possession of a college, and expended great sums of money upon houses and furniture for them, and had even endowed them with the richest benefices in that district: yet that these fathers, who had been settled amongst them upwards of two years, and during that time had the most part of the youth of the city committed to their care, had been of no advantage to them; a misfortune of which they were more sensible, having had before, as they alleged, good colleges, and excellent masters. To these, they added complaints of more consequence, accusing the Jesuits of sowing dissensions in the city, and in the whole province; and

earnestly intreated that they might be recalled, and a royal college founded. It was not possible for me to do them much service with Henry, who had lately carried his complaisance for the order they complained of so far, as to grant, at their solicitation, that, after his decease, his heart should be deposited in their college of La Fleche, instead of the church of Notre Dame, where it was the custom to deposit the hearts of our deceased kings. It was upon this occasion that a canon of that church, meeting a Jesuit about the time that this distinction was granted to his society, asked him which he would rather choose, to put the king's heart into La Fleche, or La Fleche into the king's heart.*

Notwithstanding the favours his majesty was every day showering upon the Jesuits, this society, doubtless, thought themselves still more obliged to the king of Spain, since he continued to support all their designs; designs which they carried on in the kingdom, and even in the midst of the court itself. The Spanish ambassador freely disclosed to the great number of friends that crown had amongst us, that his Catholic majesty was resolved to prevent, by every method in his power, a king so ambitious, so prudent, so able a general, whose reputation was so high, and who was so closely connected with the Protestants, from executing those great schemes, which the money, the arms, and ammunition of all kinds he was amassing, gave but too much reason to believe he had projected; that it was necessary, therefore, to prevent his taking wing, since nothing could resist him in his flight, and find him sufficient employment within his own kingdom, by making use, for the same purposes as

* *La fleche* is French for an arrow.

they had done during the league, of the enmity there was between the two religions established in France; that this was the business of all the Catholics in Europe, whose fears were so much the more reasonable, as Henry had shown, by the protection he had granted to the United-Provinces, that he knew how to weaken the only power capable of making any great effort in their favour; and that it was, therefore, necessary to act in the same manner towards him, by endeavouring to consume his forces before they undertook openly to procure satisfaction.

In these discourses I was still less spared than any other person. It was said, that I had prevailed upon his majesty to undertake greater things than any other king of France had attempted for these five hundred years, and that my chief aim was the destruction of the Catholic religion. This last charge is the only one I deny; and it is, indeed, absolutely false: but they thought themselves sufficiently authorised to load me with it, as it was the most likely to make some impression. I allege nothing against the ambassador without foundation. Some of the ecclesiastics, to whom he had confided these secrets, had still love enough for their country to be offended with such discourse; they thought they satisfied sufficiently their conscience, and their honour, by obliging cardinal du Perron and his brother, to whom they repeated what had been said, to swear by their faith, and the holy evangelists, that they would not name them. It cannot be imagined, that the two du Perrons would forge an imposture; all was too circumstantial: They only repeated the words of the ambassador, who had likewise said, that the affair was already so far advanced, that it was no longer to be called a mere project: for, that many good ec-

clesiastics, and friends of his Catholic majesty, had laboured, and did still labour so effectually for its success, that a happy revolution was soon to be expected: besides, it was not only in his court that these informations were given to the king: he received them from all foreign courts, where the Spanish ambassadors publicly declared, that the balance began to lean too much on the side of France to make it possible for a peace to continue long between the two crowns. It was likewise added, that the Spaniards supported these discourses by the most strenuous endeavours, and the practice of every kind of artifice, to deprive France of her friends and allies.

Henry, alarmed, as he had good reason to be, with these informations, which multiplied on every side, had from the latter end of the last year talked of them to me; and he sent la Varenne for me one morning so very early that I found him in bed. As soon as he was drest, he took my hand, saying, "My friend, I want to confer with you on some matters of importance. We will go into my library, that we may not be soon interrupted; for, although I have some touches of the gout, I shall continue to walk as usual, if possible." After relating to me the advices he had received, "Well, confess freely," said he, "that you are not grieved to find by what I have told you, your opinion confirmed, that it is necessary great kings should resolve to be either hammers or anvils, when they have powerful rivals, and never depend too securely upon a perfect tranquillity. I do not deny but that I have often contested this point with you; but since it is now clear that you were in the right, let us, at least, endeavour to reduce these rivals to such a condition, that when I am dead they may not carry their designs into execution, which

“probably they will then find it easier to do than during
“my life, who am well acquainted with all their arts. I am
“not so stupid,” continued Henry, to “take vengeance
“at my own expense upon your Huguenots for the tricks
“they sometimes play me; they deceive themselves
“greatly if they imagine I know not the difference be-
“tween my strength and theirs, and that it is easy for me
“to destroy them whenever I please: but I shall not for
“a trifling offence, or to satisfy others, weaken my state
“so much, by ruining them, as to become a prey to my
“enemies. I would rather give them two blows, than
“receive one from them. Therefore,” pursued he, ris-
“ing in his temper as he spoke, “since the malice of
“these rascals is so great, we must endeavour to prevent
“it; and, by heaven I swear, for they have kindled my
“rage, if they pursue their plots against my person and
“my state, for I was informed yesterday that there are
“designs laid against both, if they once oblige me to
“take up arms, I will do it in such a manner that they
“shall curse the hour when they disturbed my quiet.
“Therefore make all the necessary preparations, and
“provide arms, ammunition, artillery, and money in
“abundance; and consider of some motto for this ap-
“proaching year 1607, that may express the resolutions
“we have just taken; that if they make war on us like
“foxes, we will make it on them like lions.” I was
charmed to hear the king talk in this manner, and obeyed his orders with joy. Upon the gold medals, which I presented him with in the beginning of the year, was represented the temple of Janus, a lily seemed to keep the door shut, which was still further explained by this motto: *Clausi, cavete recludam*. Henry was pleased with the invention, and thought I had succeeded very well in

expressing his resolution not to suffer himself to be prevented by his enemies.

It was with great difficulty that he could help regarding as such six or seven persons of his court, against whom, among many others, he was continually receiving informations. The whole house of Lorraine was comprehended in these informations, which was the cause that Henry, in a letter he wrote to me one day, made use of this expression: "All the crosses of Lorraine are false, and I am afraid the flowers-de-luce are not free from the contagion." To these complaints his majesty often added reproaches on me, for appearing publicly to have stronger connexions with those princes than was consistent between persons whose principles were so different. Though I looked upon the injurious reports that were made of *messieurs de Lorraine* to be absolutely false; yet I thought I owed so much complaisance to my prince as to mention them to one of the family, who might give him the most cause for uneasiness. I did so, and in return received assurances of obedience and attachment so apparently sincere, that I thought myself under an obligation to undeceive his majesty in this respect. I intreated him to do me the justice to believe that I would, without hesitating a moment, break off any connexion which appeared to me in the smallest degree prejudicial to his authority; and since he permitted me to offer him my advice upon this head, I represented to him that even his own interest required I should not abandon the person of whom he complained: for although it should be supposed, that he concealed from me some part of his sentiments; yet, while I continued to preserve some influence over him, I was very certain he would never carry his discontent so far as to be guilty of any breach of his duty towards him; and

that it appeared absolutely necessary to me, in order to prevent giving any apprehensions to persons who would be so much the more affected with an imputation of disloyalty, as they deserved it less, to be silent, and wait for a full discovery with patience.

With regard to those other persons who were comprehended in this accusation, the king told me nothing of which I had not been informed before him; but whenever I endeavoured to search into the bottom of these reports, I was always convinced there had been but little foundation for them. I was likewise so well acquainted with the motive that had induced these liars to propagate their slanders, that at length I took a resolution to give credit to none of them; and heard them without reply name several persons whom they found a malignant joy in abusing: not but it was certain, that the Spanish party at court was very considerable; I have been the first to acknowledge this truth, and none knew better than myself those who professed themselves friends to it; but what probability was there, that in this association, which they would endeavour to keep secret, they should introduce persons who were known to have a long and invincible aversion to it?

To this Henry answered, that it was still very dangerous that there never should be any conspiracy in the state, which they did not entertain hopes of engaging the noblest and greatest part of the court to join; and again repeated his importunities, that I would discover and prevent those supposed plots. Although I agreed with him in his maxim, yet I opposed it by another which seemed no less incontestable, that he ought not to think of punishing those crimes, as yet barely formed in the imagination, and carried no farther than wishes; but only to be strictly attentive to prevent their maturity, by

separating, as if without design, those seeds that give rise to them. And this ought always to be the business of the minister rather than the master. But at most, what could these people, represented in such dreadful colours, be able to perform? It was by this reflection that I endeavoured to calm the mind of the king: was not his single person more formidable than a thousand of theirs? and were not his servants, whom he knew to be faithful, a secure defence against his enemies? Henry had no enemies among them whom he could not, by a single word, make tremble; and during his life, there was no reason to apprehend that the peace of the government would be disturbed by any revolution.

This is almost all that passed on the occasion, between his majesty and me, either by messages or letters, which he often sent me by the duke of Rohan. He at length followed the advice I gave him, which was to trace this business through bye-paths, and act with policy rather than force. I did not behold this employment in the same light with others that the king had charged me with in his court: I took several journies thither on this account, and neglected nothing which I thought capable of dissipating these malignant vapours. I even offered his majesty to devote to it all the time he permitted me to spend at my houses in the country, and to pursue my inquiries, without ceasing, near him: I agreed with him that the letters I sent him on this subject should be written in a cypher which it was not possible for any other to understand, or counterfeit: I sent Descartes to Barrault to give him instructions concerning every thing it was necessary he should do and say at Madrid, both upon this subject and several others, among which was the affair relating to a memorial that was presented by

the Spanish secretary, on the fifth of April, to the king at Fontainebleau.

In this memorial, his majesty was requested to give orders for restoring to the Spaniards a certain capture made by Grammont, and of which he had refused to make restitution, without a command from his majesty. To settle this affair, all that was necessary was a perfect knowledge of the law relating to shipwrecks; for the capture was of that nature. The Spanish minister maintained that this law had nothing to do with vessels and pieces of ordnance, which belonged immediately to kings and sovereign princes, and of which they were actually making use. Neither the law which was quoted, nor the matter in dispute, seemed so clear to the council, as Spain would have had it. Villeroi replied, that when the famous fleet sent by the deceased king of Spain against England was dispersed in the Channel, they had, indeed, procured the restoration of the wrecks that came to Calais; but that this restitution was looked upon as a matter of favour rather than of right. The king referred it to me to decide this question, by the authority and examples of the archives of the monarchy.

IV. The proceedings this year in Flanders, between Spain and the United Provinces, will appear to have consequences very different for us. From the beginning of the campaign, some hopes were conceived, that a peace would be still delayed for a considerable time longer. Du Terrail attempted to surprise the town of Sluys for the Spaniards: he opened himself a passage by petarding, and advanced so far at the head of the soldiers, which had been given him by the archduke for this enterprise, that he would, doubtless, have taken the place if he had been better supported; but his sol-

diers being seized by a sudden panic, fled: and thus abandoned, he was obliged to retire, without drawing any advantage from his assault. The prince of Orange attacked Antwerp, and succeeded no better. So much pusillanimity served only to show that both parties had forgot how to make war; and gave more weight to proposals for a peace, which were then publicly made. An aversion so deeply rooted as that of the Dutch for Spain, inspired them with a desire to make a last attempt (by the same method they had used the preceding year) to prevail upon us to make their cause our own. And this was the offer of a certain number of their best towns in hostage.

I believe I have not related what passed in the council upon this occasion. It was there alleged, that it was unreasonable to expect the king should every year expend two millions for the service of the states, without drawing any advantage from it: that the example set by queen Elizabeth afforded us a very useful lesson: and that the Dutch had reason to think themselves happy, if we assisted them upon the same conditions. There was nothing surprising in this opinion of the council, except its being supported, as it was observed, only by the zealous Catholics; those very Catholics who would have sacrificed every thing for the success of their project to unite France and Spain. Probably it will not be easy to guess what end these counsellors pursued by measures in appearance so contradictory to each other. But I shall explain it: they were far from believing the offers of the Dutch as sincere as they really were; and, in their opinion, there needed no more to create discord between the king and the states, than to accept their proposition. It was, therefore, resolved

to accept it, while I discovered my dislike of this measure no otherwise than by refusing my vote.

However, it fell out quite contrary to their expectations. The council of the United Provinces* received this overture gladly, and consented to give the king six towns in hostage, which he should choose himself, provided he furnished them with two millions, and a certain quantity of powder, and favoured, as formerly, their levies of soldiers in France. Buzenval, as has been already observed, having returned the preceding winter, signified this resolution to our counsellors, who, in the perplexity they were cast into by it, knew no longer either what to say, or what determination to take; and I am of opinion that instead of mortifying them, I did them a real service, by showing them, as I did in full council, with what precipitation they had formed their first resolves: I convinced them, that the different supplies granted voluntarily each year by his majesty to the states, did not amount to near so large a sum as that they now demanded of him: that the towns they offered were not, upon examination, a sufficient security for our money. In a word, I taxed, with still more satisfaction on their part than my own, all the arguments they had urged, with ignorance and absurdity. This was an extraordinary council composed of the king, the count of Soissons, the chancellor Bellievre, Sillery, Chateau-neuf, Villeroi, Chateau-vieux, as captain of the

* There can be no doubt but the United Provinces, at that time, really designed, not only to put themselves under the protection of France, but even to submit to its sovereignty. See their deliberation on this affair in Vittorio Siri (Mem. Recond. Vol. I. page 418): but since it was necessity alone which compelled them to it, this disposition could not be very sincere; nor would they have continued in it long. I apprehend the best measures which could be followed, were those the duke of Sully prevailed on the council to take.

guards, and myself. No one having any thing to reply, it was no longer debated whether the proffered towns should be accepted; and we confined ourselves to the former terms of friends and allies of the United Provinces, either offensive or defensive; the pretext of which, as expressed in the treaty, (for the states would have it one,) was to make peace between them and the king of Spain.

The states, to whom this artful management gave a fair colour for throwing the blame upon us, would not admit the change; but absolutely declared, that since they were refused the money they had occasion for, after having been promised it, they were reduced to the necessity of making peace with their enemy, and that we should see it concluded immediately. This was not what his majesty expected, who had promised himself that he should be able to keep things as they were a considerable time longer, by giving the Dutch the same supplies and assistance as usual; and had for that purpose advanced them the sum of six hundred thousand livres at the beginning of the year: but they took his money without altering their design of a cessation of arms. And it was apparently to prevent the reproaches they had reason to expect from us, that we were again importuned with the same proposals of towns given in hostage, and of submission to the French domination, which they knew we had no inclination to accept. They likewise endeavoured to get a more considerable sum of money from us. Aërsens, on his return to Paris in the beginning of April, having the assurance to demand a farther sum of two hundred thousand livres, Henry had his revenge; but, although he refused Aërsens, he neglected no other means to prevail upon the states to

suspend their resolution of an accommodation, notwithstanding, he said, that from that moment it was but too clear to him that the point was already fixed on amongst them.

Preaux and Russey had already been commissioned by the king to make some representation to the states upon this subject. His majesty, who looked upon it as a piece of necessary policy to have some person, on his part, to assist at the general assembly of the states, which had been summoned to meet on the 6th of May, and in which they were to appoint deputies to acquaint him with their motives for agreeing to a cessation of arms, thought proper to order me to send Buzenval thither again with the utmost speed, and associated Jeannin with him in the commission. Their instructions differed but little from those which had been given to la Boderie* on the subject of the suspension of arms. I delivered to Buzenval his appointments, as formerly, for six months, comprehending only the expenses which Franchemen, his secretary, might have been at in his master's absence.

Affairs were in this situation when we heard the news of a great naval victory gained, on the 25th† of April, by the fleet of the United Provinces, over that of the Spaniards; and almost immediately after, Buzenval sent us a relation of it, which was as follows: Alvarès d'Avila,‡ the Spanish admiral, was ordered to cruise near the Straits of Gibraltar, to hinder the Dutch from entering the Mediterranean, and to deprive them of the trade of

* Antony le Fevre de la Boderie.

† Other historians say, Monday, the 30th of April: there are also some other differences in the accounts of the action; but of little moment. See de Thou, book cxxxviii. *Le Merc. Franç.* anno 1607, and other historians.

‡ D. John Alvarès d'Avilla.

the Adriatic. The Dutch, to whom this was a most sensible mortification, gave the command of ten or twelve vessels to one of their ablest seamen, named Heemskerk,* with the title of vice-admiral, and ordered him to go and reconnoitre this fleet, and attack it. D'Avila, though already near twice as strong as his enemy, yet provided a reinforcement of twenty-six great ships, some of which were of a thousand tons burden, and augmented the number of his troops to three thousand five hundred men. With this accession of strength, he thought himself so secure of victory, that he brought a hundred and fifty gentlemen along with him only to be witnesses of it. However, instead of standing out to sea, as he ought to have done, with such certainty of success, he posted himself under the town and castle of Gibraltar, that he might not be obliged to fight but when he thought proper.

Heemskerk, who had taken none of these precautions, no sooner perceived that his enemy seemed to fear him, than he advanced to attack him, and immediately began the most furious battle that ever was fought in the memory of man. It lasted eight whole hours. The Dutch vice-admiral, at the beginning attacked the vessel in which the Spanish admiral was, grappled it, and was ready to board her. A cannon-ball, which wounded him in the thigh soon after the fight began, left him only an hour's life, during which, and till within a moment of his death, he continued to give orders as if he felt no pain. When he found himself ready to expire, he delivered his sword to his lieutenant, obliging him, and all that were with him, to bind themselves by an oath, either to conquer or die. The lieutenant caused the same oath to be taken by the peo-

* Jacob Heemskerk

ple in all the other vessels, where nothing was heard but a general cry of *Victory or death!* At length, the Dutch were victorious: they had lost only two vessels, and about two hundred and fifty men: the Spaniards lost sixteen ships, three were consumed by fire; and the others, among which was the admiral's ship, run aground. D'Avila, with thirty-five captains, fifty of his volunteers, and two thousand eight hundred soldiers, lost their lives in the fight; a memorable action, which was not only the source of affliction to many widows and private persons, but filled all Spain with horror.

This, indeed, was finishing the war by a glorious stroke; for the negociations were not laid aside, but were probably pushed on with the greater vigour on account of it. At first, they would have had them considered as measures proposed only by the marquis Spinola, or, at most, by the archduke, without any mention being made of the king of Spain; and some persons were weak enough to believe, that the whole affair was conducted without the participation of his Catholic majesty. But a very little reflection would have convinced them, that it was not at all probable, that either Spinola or the archduke would have ventured to negotiate with the mortal enemies of Spain, either for a peace or a truce of any length, (for both were talked of), without, at least, the secret consent of the king of Spain, or of those who governed him. This prince had already resolved upon it, as afterwards appeared; and if any perplexity was observed, it proceeded either from the nature of the business itself, or from the dilatoriness of the council of Madrid; or, perhaps, from those to whom, for form's sake, he thought himself obliged to communicate his resolution, which was not without some dan-

ger for Spain, and consequently only taken up through an urgent necessity.

It was obstinately debated in France, whether or not this peace would be agreed to, till the very moment that it was concluded. The king wrote me his opinion of the dispatches he received from the Low Countries, and sent them regularly to Villeroi, Sillery, and me, to be examined in a kind of council. The most important of these dispatches was that which he received the latter end of May, importing that in Flanders, they waited for nothing to conclude the articles, but a promise from the king of Spain to ratify whatever should be determined by the archduke, or by Spinola and the Dutch agents: that the marquis's secretary, who had passed through Paris some days before, was gone to require this engagement, with the revocation of don Diego d'Ibarra, which it was said he had actually procured. To the account which Henry gave me of those proceedings, in a letter he wrote to me from Monceaux, the 24th of May, I answered, that he might look upon the ratification of Spain, and consequently the peace, or a long truce, as a thing absolutely certain: that, apparently, it would be under this last title, as most proper to conceal the shame of the Spaniards, that the agreement would be made. To which I added, agreeable to what I had said before, that Spain yielded to necessity, taking it for granted that she did not, under this step, conceal a snare by which she hoped one day to regain all that she now sacrificed to the exigence of her affairs.

Spinola's secretary had no commission for the scheme of ratification, as had been reported; for otherwise it would certainly have arrived at Flanders, and even at Paris, before the end of July, as Henry had expected:

either new obstacles were raised, or Spain, for other reasons, thought proper to delay it for some time longer, since it appeared not to be dated till the 18th of September. I was among the first who knew it, from the archduke's ambassador, who afterwards caused the report to be spread at Paris, with circumstances very favourable for the Spaniards, which Henry would not believe. The Spaniards, said he, if it had been true, would not have been so long without saying it. I wrote him at Fontainebleau, an account of what the ambassador had said to me upon this subject: and my answer to him, the plainness of which highly pleased his majesty. The first dispatch that was expected from Holland, and which came, at length, on the 14th of October, showed us exactly what we ought to think of this paper, which was wished for with so much impatience.

By this his Catholic majesty not only approved of the treaty for the suspension of arms, which had been made by the archduke, but likewise engaged his royal word to ratify all that should be concluded by this prince, or his agents; with the council of the United Provinces, either for a peace or a long truce, leaving the choice to them, as if it had been settled and concluded by himself. He promised to use his whole authority in enforcing the strict observation of it throughout all his dominions, under a great penalty; providing only, that if nothing should be concluded upon by the negociators, the present treaty should be deemed null, and neither of the parties be capable of demanding any other right from it, than that which they had before; and that every thing should remain in the same state they were in at the time of the present ratification. It was written and signed in Spanish, *Yo el Rey*, and in a placart, with which the states were offended: but they were well

enough satisfied with the form, except only that they still objected to these words: *without prejudicing the rights of the parties*,* which were expressed upon the supposition that nothing would be concluded. They raised still more difficulty about its being stipulated, that the present regulation should take place, as well with regard to religion, as to policy and government; believing that this clause was inserted to dispute with them the rights of real sovereigns of the ecclesiastic police: but the paper was, by the deputies from France and England,† whose advice they asked concerning it, judged fit to be received. Jeannin, who sought to make the name of his master as considerable as he could, told him, that the king would never be brought to approve of their breaking off the treaty for a trifle, after having acceded to all, when, if the matter were well considered, it would be found that they engaged for nothing more than what they had themselves a desire to do. Therefore, it was his advice to them, that all the favours they granted to the Catholics in their republic, should appear rather to proceed from themselves, or through the interposition of his most Christian majesty, than by virtue of a contract made with the archdukes and with Spain.

This was the ratification that made so much noise.‡

* The Memoirs are not quite correct in the relation of this business. the ratification was first received by the states in *July*; but being “in a placart,” as it is termed, (i. e. on paper,) and containing some expressions which did not admit of the independence of the states, they would not receive it; it was therefore sent back to Spain, where some alterations were made, though not all that were required, and returned again in *October* as above. See Bentivoglio, pt. iii. b. 8. Birch’s *Negotiat.* p. 271. EDIT.

† The English deputies were sir Richard Spenser and sir Ralph Winwood, in whose “Memorials” a full account of all these proceedings may be found. EDIT.

‡ See de Thou, le Merc. Frang. and other historians, anno 1607; and also the 9981 vol. of the king’s MSS. which contains many curious pieces on the affairs of the United Netherlands.

Henry, when he sent me a copy of it by young Lomenie, wrote to me in these words: "Time will unfold to us what advantages either party will draw from it. Prince Maurice already talks as if he would not receive it; and that it would likewise be rejected in Zealand." The truce, in which this negotiation ended at last, was neither completed nor published till the beginning of the year 1609, many different obstacles having kept it suspended during the whole course of the year 1608. But not to anticipate matters, let us content ourselves with saying, that in this it produced a total cessation of hostilities, during which they seriously negotiated a peace. The king still kept Jeannin and Preaux* at Holland. The king of England had also a deputy residing there: this prince's conduct towards those people, sufficiently made known his character, such as I have already painted it. There was nothing to hinder him from humbling a power which was odious to him: France, although she could subsist without her neighbours better than any other crown, pointed out the way to him, and offered to show the example: but what can be expected from persons who neither know how to seize opportunities as they offer, to execute any thing boldly, nor even to desire any thing with steadiness?

Upon notice given by de Vic, that, in contempt of treaties, and notwithstanding repeated declarations from the archdukes, our neighbours continued building the fort of Rebuy, which would be soon in a condition of defence; the king sent orders to that vice-admiral to send

* Mons. de Buzenval died at Leyden, the 23d of September; a man of great reputation, as well in France as in other nations. "To do honour to his worth and merit," say the *Mémoires de l'Histoire de France*, "the states-general defrayed the expenses of his funeral, which was performed with the same pomp and ceremony as the prince of Orange's had been."

some troops thither, who surprised the workmen, and threw down all that they had built, without killing or wounding any person whatever. "Our neighbours," said Villeroi, in a letter to me, "have reason to be offended: but it is better that they should be petitioners and complain, than that we should."

The Grisons, at length, determined to show the Spaniards somewhat less respect, after having too long submitted to soothe and court them. The efforts which were made by the disaffected amongst them, to banish the Protestants, and reduce the whole country to the Spanish yoke, ended in a real sedition, in which the senate discovered, that the count of Fuentes had made the bishop of Coire and his adherents play the chief parts, by means of two pensioners of Spain, who bore all the punishment: they were seized and delivered up to the secular power, which performed a speedy and exemplary piece of justice upon them. The leagues, at the same time, caused the articles of Milan to be cancelled, the sole tie that bound them to Spain, and solemnly confirmed their alliances with France and the Venetians: after this bold stroke, the Grisons became more than ever sensible how necessary the advice and assistance of his most Christian majesty was to them. The courier, who came to make these two requests, brought this good news in six days after he quitted the Valtoline.

Although the count of Fuentes, in public, talked of nothing but revenging his master, and affected to make great preparations in Germany and Switzerland, yet France was not alarmed, being persuaded, that if, by these vain threats, he could put off any decision concerning the affair of the Valtoline, he would not insist very obstinately on that of the two pensionaries, and of the cancelled

articles. The emperor* had sufficient employment upon his hands in his own dominions: having attempted to deprive the Protestants of Transilvania of liberty of conscience, a Transilvanian, named Bostkay, had put himself at their head, and handled the imperial troops so roughly, that the emperor, being apprehensive that the malecontents would be joined by the Turks, found himself obliged to leave those people in quiet, and to grant to Bostkay the lordship of the country.

With regard to the Swiss cantons, Spain had reason to believe, that the leagues would not have acted in the manner they had done, without the concurrence of those cantons which were in alliance with the dutchy of Milan.

The king gave the Grisons to understand, that he would not abandon them; he made the same promise to the little republic of Geneva, which he thought might be of some use to him in his great designs; he sent her money to maintain her forces, and to make a plentiful provision of ammunition. His majesty did still more; for he sent letters to Geneva, filled with expressions of his regard for that city, by Boïsse, colonel of the regiment of Navarre, and governor of the city and castle of Bourg, and offered them this officer to assist them in the conduct of their enterprises; and did not scruple to communicate to them his design of making Geneva a magazine of cannon, and all kinds of warlike stores; as well to serve their occasions, as those which his majesty might have for them in those cantons. On the 21st of April, the republic returned the king an answer full of acknowledgments for the testimonies he gave them of his goodness, and promises of sending him the most exact information of whatever their common enemies might

* Rodolph.

practise against them. Notwithstanding these mutual good offices between the king and the republic of Geneva, Henry did not break with the duke of Savoy; but, on the contrary, the count of Garmare, envoy from this prince, having taken leave of the king at Fontainebleau, the latter end of October, with an intention to repass the Alps, with the marquis de Beuillaque, envoy from the grand duke of Tuscany, without taking their route through Paris, (at least as the king thought,) his majesty wrote to me, desiring that I would send him two crochets of precious stones, each valued at a thousand crowns to present them with.

England was not without her troubles this year: His Britannic majesty, after putting to death the two Jesuits, Garnet and Oldicorne, the chief actors in the plot laid against his person, which has been already mentioned in the preceding year, thought it necessary to have the oath of fidelity again administered to all his subjects, which was done with some circumstances derogatory to the honour and power of the pope, on whom this prince laid the blame of the plot. This so highly offended his holiness, that he sent a brief into England, by which all the Catholics there were prohibited from taking this oath.

The holy father was just then happily delivered from the perplexity into which his quarrel with the Venetians had thrown him: the king terminated this affair to the satisfaction of both parties, by the cardinal Joyeuse, who, in the month of April, sent his equerry to his majesty, with the news and the conditions. The public* making the first advances, as became them, re-

* According to other historians, the doge and senate would not give the pope any satisfaction; nor receive absolution, much less sue for it; and Paul

signed, through the interposition of the French ambassador, the two ecclesiastics who were prisoners, into the hands of a person appointed by the pope to receive them, without any protestation that could be displeasing to his holiness. They likewise revoked all they had done against the interdict, upon his majesty's assuring them, that the pope would afterwards recall this interdict in the most gracious manner. All this was effected by cardinal Joyeuse, without any farther interposition of the Spanish ambassadors, than what he thought fit to allow them, which greatly enhanced the glory his majesty acquired by this reconciliation.* Henry, being desirous of giving some gratuity to cardinal Aldobrandini, left the manner of it to me: as I had some reason to believe that his eminence would be better pleased with money than rings and jewels, I decided for a pension rather than a present.

V was extremely mortified at the indifference with which they received at Venice, what he would have had esteemed as a favour. Fresne-Canaye said, on his returning from his embassy, that the pope was treated with no more respect at Venice than at Geneva. It is certain, at least, that all his endeavours to restore the Jesuits were useless. "This affair," says Mons. de Péréfixe, "retarded the accommodation for some months, and was near breaking it off entirely: for the pope, considering they had been driven out on his account, absolutely insisted, that the senate should restore them their houses and effects: the senate, on the contrary, were obstinately resolved to risk every thing rather than consent to it. At last, the pope, persuaded by the eloquence of the cardinal du Perron, conceived it would be more adviseable to make some concessions in this point, than to run the hazard of embroiling all Christendom; so that they remained banished from the Venetian territories. Pope Alexander VII, by his intercession, has re-established them there," Péréfixe, *Journal de l'Etoile*, *Memoires pour l'Histoire de France*, *Mercure François*, Matthieu, &c. anno 1607.

* "It was I," said Henry IV, "who made the peace of Italy." The *Mercure François* observes, that Francis de Castro, and don Inigo de Cardenas, ministers from Spain at Rome, in vain endeavoured to prevail on the pope to appoint cardinal Zapula associate to cardinal de Joyeuse; anno 1607.

Cardinal Barberini, returning to Rome from his nunciature, thought himself so much obliged to me for the services I had rendered him, that he talked of them publicly in terms of the highest acknowledgment, which, in the month of November, procured me a most obliging brief from Paul V. His holiness, at least, made this a pretence for writing to me, and recommending the person who was to succeed Barberini to my favour, who was the *clu* of the church of Mont-Politian. I shall not relate here either the acknowledgments made me by his holiness, nor the praises, kind offers, and other civilities with which his letter was filled, since this would be only to repeat what I have already said, on occasion of the brief sent me formerly by Clement VIII, both which contained the most earnest intreaties, and most pathetic exhortations, to induce me to embrace the Roman catholic religion. I answered Paul V in the same manner as I had done his predecessor, in terms the most polite, respectful, and satisfactory, I could imagine; except only, that I observed a profound silence upon the article of my change of religion.

V. But let us now return from this detail of foreign affairs to those of the government, and begin with the finances, after having premised, in the first place, that the finances of Navarre* were this year reunited to those of France, so that we shall no longer treat of them

* The author here undoubtedly means to speak of the edict, though it was not past till 1609, whereby the demesnes, and all the estates which belonged to Henry IV, as king of Navarre, and which, till that time, had always been kept separate from the crown of France, because that prince had granted the income thereof to his sister Catherine, were united to it in an unalienable perpetuity, &c. These estates comprehend the dutchies of Vendôme and Albret; the earldom of Foix, Armagnac, Bigorre, Gaure, Merle, Beaumont, La Ferre, the viscounty of Limoge, and other rights and revenues. See the above-mentioned historians.

separately. And, secondly, that the long stay his majesty made in his palaces without Paris, and at a distance from his council, was the cause that almost all business was transacted by letters. His majesty chose rather to take this trouble upon him, than to oblige his secretaries, and other people in office, to do business near his person. He, likewise, granted the same indulgence to those whose employments, though of another kind, required their attendance on him. His majesty's service was never less troublesome or expensive to the inferior officers of the crown.

The king, at a visit he made me in the arsenal, speaking of the regulations to be made in the finances for the present year, desired I would give him a summary account of all the money I had paid since I had governed the finances, to the persons named in the following calculation, which I presented to him, eight days afterwards, in this form: To the Swiss cantons, and leagues of the Grisons, seventeen millions three hundred and fifty thousand livres; debt to England in money given to the United Provinces, six millions nine hundred and fifty thousand livres; to several princes of Germany, four millions eight hundred and ninety-seven thousand livres; to the grand-duke of Tuscany, and other Italian princes, eighteen thousand livres; to Gondy, Zamet, Cenamy, and other contractors, for debts due upon salt and the large farms, four millions eight hundred thousand livres; for debts contracted during the league, thirteen millions seven hundred and seventy thousand livres; for debts due to the provinces of Dauphiné, Lyonnois, Languedoc, &c., paid out of the money arising from the gabelle, four millions seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand livres; debts to several per-

sons, paid from the money arising from any branch of the royal revenue, four millions eight hundred and thirty-six thousand six hundred livres; to others, comprehended in a different account, four millions thirty-eight thousand three hundred livres; in presents made by his majesty, six millions forty-two thousand three hundred livres; for purchasing arms, ammunition and furniture of ordnance deposited in the magazines, twelve millions; for churches and other buildings, six millions one hundred and fifty thousand livres; repairs and fortifications of towns, five millions seven hundred and eighty-five thousand livres; for pavements, bridges, causeways, &c., four millions eight hundred and fifty-five thousand livres; jewels and furniture purchased by his majesty, one million eight hundred thousand livres: Total, eighty-seven millions, nine hundred and two thousand two hundred livres.

Queen Margaret had inherited, from the queen her mother, very considerable estates,* of which she made a cession to the dauphin. The annual rent of these estates, at the time she resigned them, amounted to twenty-four thousand three hundred and seventy livres: in letting out leases, I increased them to thirty thousand three hundred and sixty livres. I also recovered a capital of one hundred and seventy thousand three hundred livres, which produced yearly the sum of thirteen thousand three hundred livres, that had been alienated, either by the deceased queen, or by Margaret herself. I could have wished to have recovered another part of those estates, worth ninety-four thousand livres, bringing in annually the sum of eight thousand three

* The particulars of these estates have been enumerated before, in speaking of the suit between queen Margaret and the duke of Angoulême.

hundred and ninety-five livres; but it had been absolutely sold, or given away, by these two princesses.

I undertook to reunite to the crown lands, all the registers and clerks, offices at the courts of Languedoc, which had been alienated. This design was no sooner known, than la Fosse, and several other contractors, came to make me offers. The part I took was, to allow those farmers to redeem them, on condition that, at the expiration of a certain number of years, during which it was agreed they should enjoy them, they should restore them quite cleared to his majesty; a praiseworthy, and in some degree necessary economy, and authorized by all the laws of public and private justice. The contracts made with the purchasers imparted expressly a power of perpetual redemption for their own court; an observation I make here, because the parliament of Toulouse, in registering the letters-patent expedited for this treaty, thought proper to except their offices and those of the city. I wrote to the first president, Verdun, that the king was justly incensed at this contempt of the laws, which was still more extraordinary in persons appointed to maintain justice and order; and that he would have cited the whole body, if some friends of that parliament had not suspended the effects of his anger, by promising him an entire obedience: for, indeed, what right had the parliament of Languedoc to desire that their offices should be excepted from a general rule for the whole province? and, if it was the kind of treaty that displeased them, why, since the proprietors of these offices were allowed to sell, alienate, infeof, and transfer them to others, in the same manner as if they had been part of their own property, would they attempt to deprive his majesty of this right,

who was become proprietor of those estates? To this no reply could be made; and the parliament of Toulouse remained convicted of partiality from the fact itself.

The parliament of Dijon consented to purchase, for the sum of sixty thousand crowns, a grant for the jurisdiction of Bresse. However, they gave themselves no trouble about raising this sum, which determined his majesty to augment the gabelle in this province, which would procure him, at least, a part of it. The parliament presumed to suppress this augmentation by an *arret*, which was, indeed, cancelled by the council, but at the hazard of raising a sedition among the people, who had not before murmured at this impost. The baron de Lux was commissioned by the king, to declare to the parliament of Burgundy how highly he was offended at this procedure. I advised his majesty to prescribe to that parliament a certain time for the payment of the sum that had been promised by them: and, if they did not satisfy him, to declare, without any other form, the jurisdiction of Bresse transferred to the parliament of Dauphiné. The word parliament carries with it an idea of equity, and even wisdom; yet, in these bodies, we meet with such instances of irregularity, that one cannot help concluding, that, if infallibility may be hoped for among men, it will be found rather in one than a multitude.

I have been always scandalised at the chambers of accounts, which, though established merely that the proceedings between the principal directors of the revenue, the different persons accountable, and the other receivers, might be carried on with method, integrity, and truth, have been of no other effect than to teach all the parties concerned to cheat and steal, by allowing, in the accounts which they passed, a thousand articles which

were equally known to be false on one side and on the other. My scheme was to declare all the accounts which had been given in from the year 1598, exclusive, subject to revision. I wrote a circular letter to the chambers of accounts, on the 1st of April, in which I told them, that, in conformity to the pleasure of his majesty, who desired to be satisfied concerning the conduct of all the persons entrusted with his money, I had made an exact search for the accounts audited in the council from the year 1598, and not having found such and such receipts for such and such years, which I particularised to each of the chambers, in the search that I had made into their several accounts, one of these two things must have happened, either that the persons, who were to pay in the public money, had neglected to give in their accounts, or that the council had omitted to keep the extracts or copies. To ascertain this, I enjoined these chambers to order the duplicates of these accounts to be laid before them, to compare them with the papers of the king's council, and to draw up an extract of all that which they found contrary to the form which the king prescribed them, and which was expressly sent them every year, that no difficulty might embarrass them. I did not forget to explain to them how that extract ought to be made, in which all residues, salaries, costs, charges of accounts, wages, exemptions, taxations, receipts, and other things of the like nature, were to be included: I ordered them to make extracts of the accounts, not only of general but of particular receivers; because his majesty had been told, that the accounts of the latter, not being usually audited by the council, were those which gave room for most of the illegal prosecutions on the part of the chambers. I concluded the let-

ter with telling them, that, in order to set this inquiry on foot, I neither sent them an edict, nor particular commissions, because they were able to do it by virtue of their office: but, if they thought father powers necessary, they need but ask them; and that they ought to think themselves obliged to his majesty, that, instead of the rigorous proceedings of a chamber of justice, or an appointment of commissioners, he employed only his ordinary officers to correct abuses; and that it was their business to requite this goodness, by giving the highest proofs of exactness and honesty.

This was an affair likely to cause a dispute between the chamber of accounts, and the treasurers, receivers, and other persons employed in the payment of the revenue, who endeavoured to turn aside the stroke by two means: first by drawing the whole office upon the chamber of accounts; secondly, by declaring that the king had made them purchase a security, both for themselves and their under-agents, against any retrospective inquiry, by a tax of six hundred thousand livres, which had, in effect, been paid. There remained yet another refuge in the chambers of accounts, where we were opposed by difficulties of another kind. Those bodies pretended, as they always do, that the sovereign authority, with which they were entrusted in all affairs of the revenue, entitled them to give the last audit to all accounts, without being subject to any examination, even by the king himself. I considered this objection as no further valid than as between the chambers and myself; and I showed his majesty, that I was willing to undertake these sovereign courts, provided that he, on his part, would give to me, to them, and the council, the necessary orders. It was not my fault that the affair stopt here.

Notwithstanding the regulation which had been made in the foregoing year, for the direction of the commissioners sent into the provinces, I still received frequent complaints against them. Hanapier presented his against the commissioners of the salt-office at Buzangois. I cited some of them before the council, where a very severe reprimand was given to Tardieu. I could never make these fellows understand, that by harassing the people for the tax, for instance, upon salt, under a false appearance of zeal for the king's profit, he lost more than he gained upon the whole, by the insolvency to which debtors were reduced; and, to say the truth, they took this pains only for the farmers of the revenue. There was a necessity of reviving, with yet stronger injunctions, the regulation of the gabelle, that which regards the distribution of salt among the provinces; that which regards the tax, and that about the sale of contraband salt: for there was no reason why the condition of collectors of the taille should be made worse, since it was an office in which nobody entered but by force, and which almost nobody quitted but with ruin. I likewise forbid the commissioners to use any extraordinary measures against the registers, notaries, sergeants, gaugers, and other public persons: or to oblige any public officer to pay the tax of his collection, without first sending to the commissioners-general at Paris the complete state of those taxes, to be examined and authorised. I forbid them, likewise, to decide any controverted case without applying to the council. When these dispositions were formed upon such views, it was not my interest that they should be kept secret, as they commonly are, between the ministers and the persons interested. By the same act which obliged du Monceau, the commissioner of Berry, to observe them, I

made them known likewise to marshal de la Châtre, and to the treasurers of France, with whom I ordered him to act in concert.

This province appeared to me to want some regulation with regard to the marshalseas; part of the revenues appointed for their maintenance being embezzled, or returned to the office of the receiver-general, the remainder was scarcely sufficient to support a small number of archers: places where they were sent to reside were chosen with so little judgment, that in some, where they were most necessary, none were settled, as in Vatan, Issoudun, Argenton, Châteauroux, la Châtre, and Saint Amand, where the royal authority was not well respected; while, at the same time, the middle of the province, where they were almost useless, was quite over-run with them. After consulting the treasurers of the province about a new method of distributing these guards, I sent them my regulation on this head. The court of election of Saint Amand being partly for Bourbonnois, they granted to the vice-seneschal of this province a right of placing there a lieutenant and a brigade, as being of little importance for the public good, on whom this privilege was conferred.

I obliged those who had been security for the receivers of the deposits of the parliaments of Paris and Bourdeaux, to bring in, within four months, the declarations of these receivers to the office of messieurs de Maisses, Pont-carré, Caumartin, and Maupeou, appointed for that purpose; and I declared, with their consent, these offices reunited to the domain sixteen years after that date.

Cusse and Marigné, appointed for the reimbursement of the six hundred thousand livres lent to the king, in the year 1598, by the province of Brittany, sent me their final account of receipt and expense; or rather an ab-

stract, and an inaccurate abridgment, by which I found, that, for reimbursing six hundred thousand francs, they acknowledged to have received and given out near one million three hundred and forty thousand livres. I was already informed, by the complaints that were sent me from that province, of the nature of that estimate, and severely reproved those by whom it was given in. I also prosecuted several persons for thefts which Vitry discovered to me in Guienne.*

When it was known that the king designed to redeem several parts of his domain, many contractors came and offered themselves for that purpose: one of them sent to inquire, whether the council would admit him to treat for a share of a hundred and fifty thousand livres: but he would neither discover his name, nor declare what part of the domain, nor even the conditions, upon which he would treat, only that those conditions were very advantageous for his majesty, because he neither desired a long lease, nor any new regulations, but to take every thing upon the footing it was at present. He made it an express condition, that, after he

* One of the principal acts of justice against the financiers, during the duke of Sully's ministry, was the imprisonment and punishment of the famous contractor l'Argentier. The Memoirs of the History of France, (vol. II. p. 271,) after having related his misdemeanours and embezzlements, adds the following story: "The last time the king was going to Fontainebleau, l'Argentier coming to take his leave of his majesty, told him, he would soon follow him thither to kiss his hand, and receive his commands; and added, that journey would cost him ten thousand crowns. '*Ventre saint-gris!*' exclaimed his majesty, 'that is too much for a journey from Paris to Fontainebleau.' 'Yes, sir,' replied l'Argentier; 'but I have, with your majesty's leave, something else to do there: for I purpose to take a model of the front of your house, in order to have one of mine in Champagne built on the same plan;' at which the king laughing, took no further notice of it at that time: but when news was brought him of l'Argentier's imprisonment in the Châtelet, 'How,' said he, 'is he going to take a model of the front of the Châtelet?' "

had declared himself, no one should be allowed to outbid him, without paying him two hundred thousand livres. The singularity of this proposal did not hinder the council from accepting it; but the king insisted upon this person's giving in his name, and explaining himself, at least as to the time and nature of the redemption, to himself, the chancellor, and me. His majesty was apprehensive, that this unknown contractor might condition for a part of the domain which was in the hands of some persons from whom it might not be convenient to take it. A man, named Longuet, presented likewise, on this subject, a long memorial, which the king sent me, as well as the proposals that were lately made him by the farmers of the aids at Fontainebleau, saying that he suspected those who came in this manner to make him proposals, in my absence, designed to impose upon him.

The duke of Nevers presented a petition to the council for suppressing the salt-office established at Rethe-lois, at the solicitation of the dutchess his mother, to whom the king had given the profits of this office, for a certain sum agreed on between them. I was obliged to apply to the treasurers of Champagne to obtain a certain knowledge of this affair, which had not been transacted in my time; and I found, without much difficulty, the original grant to the dutchess of Nevers. The king, when he saw it, was of opinion that this family could have no farther claim upon him; however, he sent it to me with orders to make an exact calculation, and if any money remained due to the duke of Nevers, to pay it; and proposed, instead of suppressing this part of the revenue, to improve it as I had done the others. His majesty had two law-suits with this house for the inheritances of those of Foix and d'Albret, each

party having a claim of millions upon the other. This affair was thought to be very perplexed: but, when I got the writings into my hands, I drew up a memorial so succinct and clear, that the king was soon convinced I had not been mistaken when I offered it as my opinion, that each party would be obliged to come greatly down in their demands.

The people of Lyons had likewise a process in the council, against Feydeau. They represented to his majesty, that the council's refusing to deliver them an arret, which they had already obtained, was a very severe injury to their trade. The king referred them to me, and I soon settled their business. The good or ill done to such a city as Lyons is of importance to the whole kingdom. For this piece of service, the city sent me her thanks by the mayor and sheriffs.

Upon a report sent me by the treasurers of Beziers, of the manner in which the tax of the mark of gold was levied, I caused an arret of council to be issued for suspending this levy. I know not what the king was made to believe concerning it; but his majesty wrote to me not to let this arret be signed; or, if it was, not to give notice of it without an order from him; not that he intended to authorise the abuses that were committed in levying this tax, but he was willing, at least, to know what they were. However, those abuses so strongly affected the money arising from it, that I was persuaded, if the king blamed us for any thing, it would be for having so long delayed to provide some remedy against them.

But I was afterwards charged with a fault still more grievous in relation to the council; my enemies endeavoured to persuade the king that I introduced none into it but persons who, as they said, neither merited such

an employment, nor had any regard to the duties of it; and that this procedure occasioned great confusion in the council. If what they had alleged had been true, I confess I should have deserved something more than those reproaches his majesty made me, as I should have basely abused that confidence with which he had entrusted the whole management of the finances to my care. As I examined into the occasion of such a report, I judged that it could only be the scheme I had formed of joining to the great number of masters of requests, and other men of the robe, of whom the council was generally composed, some men of the sword, chosen from among those who had commissions to be present at them upon extraordinary occasions; and it is certain, that I never had an opportunity of talking on this subject to the princes, dukes, peers, and other officers of the crown, in whom I observed a strength of judgment and capacity, and that I did not endeavour to inspire them with an inclination for this employment, which, through a blind prejudice, they thought unworthy of their birth. He only is a truly great man who knows how to be useful to his country at all times, and on all occasions: and what is baseness, but tarnishing by a soft and effeminate life, such as persons of quality in France lead during the peace, all the glory which they had been able to acquire in war?

Far from supposing that I had done wrong by endeavouring to undeceive all those useless voluptuaries of the court, I avowed to the king, that it had been my intention, and I thought it my duty, to settle this matter with his majesty, although by letters; and, consequently, with no great conveniency. I drew out a plan of a new council, and sent it to the king, in which four

military men were to supply the places of as many counsellors out of the eight of which it was composed. To introduce this change in the most effectual manner, it was necessary to have a list of those persons in the kingdom best qualified for such an office, who had exceeded thirty years of age, out of which twenty should be chosen, which, allowing five for each quarter, would always keep the council complete. These were to attend constantly three mornings in a week, wherever the council was held; and if they failed, were to be blotted out of the list, and their places given to others. What immense difference between a body thus composed, and an assembly where every member conducts himself by arts which have been the whole study of his life?

I shall not enter here into a particular detail of all that I designed to do. I only observed to the king, that if this project gave him as much pleasure as it did me, he would be still more satisfied with that general rule, which I believed I could so well regulate, as to make it possible for all the secrets of the state to be safely deposited with so many persons of different tempers, understandings, and stations. The king was going to hunt when he received my letter. He read it, however, twice over, and sent me word he would consider of my proposal: but all my endeavours to bring him over to my opinion proved ineffectual. The authorising great abuses is not the worst consequences of a bad custom; for those may be at all times opposed with success; but it is the giving credit to certain abuses less palpable, and concealing them under a mask of wisdom and an appearance of public utility, so as to draw the approbation of princes of the best understanding. These cannot be

destroyed but after a long chain of reflections,* and applying remedies to them slowly, and one after the other: but the life of man is too short to afford him leisure for rooting up all of them. This was not the only occasion on which his majesty was not of the same opinion with me. He had been persuaded to erect a new chamber of justice against the financiers, a work that long experience had pronounced useless, and liable to abuses, though still highly agreeable to this prince, who not choosing to apply any part of his ordinary revenues to his expenses in play, buildings, mistresses, and other things of that nature, which, as I have already said, were very considerable, was glad to find them supplied by a sum of money ready provided to his hand, and which the interested courtiers always represented much greater than he found it to be. I was so grieved to see Henry still the dupe of these people, that I showed my resentment of it in full court: my plainness threw the king into such an extreme rage with me, that my enemies conceived great hopes of my disgrace. The adventure of the arsenal, which I have already related, added to this, raised them still higher. But, notwithstanding all this, I could not refrain from openly reproving the commissioners of this chamber, when I saw them pretend ignorance of the chief criminals, and punish with no less ostentation than severity such as were guilty of slight misdemeanors.

* Certainly nothing can be truer than what the author says here; nor can any thing be more happily imagined than this project, to destroy those prejudices which still subsist amongst the nobility of France, even in this enlightened age. Why should the finances, trade, or other functions, becoming a good patriot, be deemed more degrading, than an acquaintance with the belles-letters, which the nobility are not ashamed to cultivate. We may hope time will remove these prejudices.

Mangot, one of the commissioners, acting as king's counsel, having delivered an opinion contrary to particular orders he had received from the king, upon an affair which I have now forgot, I made him sensible that in me he had an overseer who was determined to let nothing pass. He complained of me to his majesty, and prevailed upon his brethren to join with him, at least so it was reported to me; and with circumstances so positive, that I could have no reason to doubt the truth of what I was told. The king did not, indeed, mention the affair to me; but this was far from being a proof that he had not been informed of it. I, therefore, thought it necessary to give his majesty a full relation of all I had said to Mangot, that I might not suffer his resentment to go so far as I had sometimes experienced. I had told Mangot, that I would not submit to those pretended orders from the king, unless they were shown to me. It was not difficult to give a bad turn to these words. When I wrote to his majesty, I thanked him for not giving credit to the reports my enemies had made to him of me: I assured him, that the warmth I discovered on that occasion proceeded only from my grief at seeing his orders disobeyed by people who expected that he should despoil himself of his whole authority in favour of them, and his interests sacrificed to every consideration. I concluded with earnest intreaties that he would pardon me, if, contrary to my intention, I had done any thing to displease him.

However, I was deceived in supposing he had heard of this affair: he told me, in his answer, that he was greatly surprised to hear the first news of this quarrel from me; that if those men had spoken to him, he would have replied, as a master who loves his servant: that all

this was only an artifice to inflame me and force me to complain, and by that means create some misunderstanding between us. "I swear to you," he added, "that I have never heard this affair mentioned: your temper is a little precipitate, and I perceive by your letter that you believe all that has been said to you. However, report is an absolute liar: moderate your resentment, and be not so easily prevailed upon to believe all the stories that are brought to you. By indifference, you will revenge yourself on those who envy and hate you, for the affection I bear you. This is the first time that I have taken a pen into my hand since this last fit of the gout. My resentment against these slanderers has surmounted my pain."

Caumartin had managed with such prudence and economy the money he was entrusted with to distribute among the Swiss cantons, that he found means to reserve thirty thousand crowns each year, with which he cleared other debts, by making a composition with the creditors. Such an example of justice and probity ought not to be passed over in silence; and is so much the more laudable, as, if he had sought a plausible pretence for turning part of this sum to his own profit, nothing was more easy than to make the Swiss murmur at his parsimony. I did not fail to mention this conduct with all the praises it deserved to du Refuge, who succeeded Caumartin.

The king had lately raised a company of gendarmes, to be commanded by the duke of Orleans, which he thought so fine, and so well mounted, when he went to review them, that he advanced them, together with that of the queen, a year's pay. He left it to my choice to take the two hundred thousand livres, which this muster

cost him, out of the six hundred thousand which were every year brought into the treasury from the profits of the taille; or that the treasury, deducting that sum from the money appropriated to the ordinary war expenses, should pay it back again at the usual time of paying those companies.

With regard to the duties of my other employments, the most considerable, relating to the ordnance, was providing the necessary equipment for an armament of galleys; a work with which the king was highly pleased. However, I was willing to spare him part of the expense: in searching amongst the old papers of my predecessors in the post of master-general of the ordnance, I found, that in the former reigns, many pieces of artillery had been given to the captains of the galleys, which they had engaged to restore when required; but had not done it. The council, to whom I communicated this discovery, agreed with me that we might commence a law-suit against the heirs of those captains, and force them to make restitution of the pieces of ordnance lent to their predecessors: but, as several persons of quality were interested in this prosecution, I sent the duke of Rohan to his majesty to ask his permission for it; sending him, at the same time, a paper I had drawn up concerning this affair. The king consented that the suit should be begun, but not carried on with all the rigour it might have been, which rendered all my trouble fruitless. It was always my opinion, that it would have been more proper for Henry to have seemed ignorant of the fact, than to have made attempts to recover those pieces of ordnance, and afterwards to desist from them.

I ordered plans to be taken of all the fortresses and coasts of Brittany, which I sent to his majesty, that he

might see what was necessary to be done there. I lost this year two excellent engineers, Bonnefort and the younger Erard, who was already not inferior to his father: their deaths grieved me extremely. I intreated the king not to dispose of their places, (for which solicitations were immediately made,) till we had both well examined the capacity of those who were candidates for them.

The forcible carrying away of the sieur de Fontange's daughter, with which I begin the article of the police, relates also to my employment as master-general, since I received orders from his majesty to send some cannon before the castle of Pierrefort, which Fontange, assisted by his friends, besieged in his pursuit of the ravisher. The expenses of a siege soon reduced him to great distress, and obliged him to have recourse to the king. Henry, moved with the justice of his cause, in which, besides, as the common father of his subjects, he could not avoid interesting himself, referred the petition and the bearer to Sillery and me, writing to me that he had just given orders to du Bourg and Neresstan* to hold their companies in readiness to march thither; and commanded Noailles to advance with his, in order to execute what I should judge fit to be done in favour of Fontange: but that if I was of opinion he should be at all the expense of the siege of Pierrefort, he recommended it to me to follow the most prudent methods I could in this affair, that it might be as little burthensome as possible to the people. Henry also referred Baumevielle to us, who had proposed an expe-

* Philibert de Neresstan, captain of the king's guards, and appointed by his majesty, the following year, grand-master of the order of our Lady of Mount-Carmel and St Lazarus.

dient to him, which he said, had more vanity than solidity in it; and having employed Vanterol to seize a man who was suspected of having entertained some traitorous designs, he sent him to me to be paid the expenses of his journey.

The good order of the police appeared to me likewise to be wounded by the judge of Saumur taking upon him, of his own private authority, to prohibit the exportation of grain out of the kingdom, and of selling it within the extent of his jurisdiction of Saumur. I got the council to cancel this sentence, even before his majesty was informed of it, and the officers of justice, by whom it was published, were summoned to appear and answer for their conduct.

The parliament of Rouen granted two arrets, which by some persons were pronounced to be very good, and by others extremely unjust: one was upon the shrine of St. Romain, which is maintained in the privilege of giving a pardon for any assassination, however atrocious it might be.* the other upon the marriage of a man

* In favour of William de la Mothe-de-Pehu, an accomplice in the murder of Francis de Montmorency, lord of Hallot, the king's lieutenant-general in Normandy, committed sixteen years before, in a very atrocious manner, by Christopher marquis d'Allegre. Henry IV calling this affair before his council, changed the pardon granted to la Mothe, into a sentence of banishment for nine years; and to pay several fines, &c. The punishment, in all probability, would have been more severe, if the youth of the criminal had not in some degree alleviated his crime. The king, ever since the year 1597, had greatly abridged the privilege of which the chapter of Rouen is possessed. This process, which at that time made a great noise, occasioned a more strict inquiry into the nature of this question. M. de Thou. Vol. IV. p. 160, Nicholas Rigault, the continuator of de Thou, and all other men of learning, so far as one can judge from what is said on this subject in the *Mercure François*, anno 1607, p. 179. made no difficulty to esteem as fabulous the pretended miracle whereby St. Romain, archbishop of Rouen; delivered that city from the ravages of a monster or serpent, com-

named Drouét, auditor of the chamber of accounts, whose history does not merit a place in these Memoirs.

The first president of this parliament being seized with a dangerous distemper, of which, however, he did not die, his majesty ordered me to tell Jambeville, who solicited for this dignity, that he always designed it for him, but that he was not pleased with the eagerness he showed to enjoy it. The office of advocate to the king in the parliament of Bourdeaux becoming vacant by the death of the sieur de Sault, queen Margaret and d'Ornano requested it for the son of du Bernet, counsellor in that court; but the king refused them, not being willing to give this place, the importance of which the late troubles had sufficiently shown, to any one whose character he was not thoroughly acquainted with: but the picture I drew of du Bernet procured him the

monly called the Gargouille: being assisted in the enterprise by a criminal imprisoned for murder: from whence this privilege had its origin. The evidence by which it was endeavoured to prove that this privilege was really granted by several kings of France, could not stand the test of a strict scrutiny: but was found full of errors, suppositions, and falsehoods, in the times and dates. It is conjectured, that this pious fable had its origin from a true miracle performed by this archbishop; but that it was, by stopping an inundation, which poetical license, according to custom, transformed into a monster, besides adorning the story with many others of its usual figures. The word Hydra, which was easily altered into Serpent, has so near a resemblance to the word which in Greek signifies an inundation, that this alone might easily occasion the mistake. To recite all the reasons contained in the pleadings, and writings of that time, or in the different dissertations wrote since, on this subject, for and against the privilege of the canons of the cathedral church of Rouen, would take up too much room here. It is no wonder there should have been so great an outcry against an act of devotion so singular as this, whereby an action the most unjust, and tending to authorise what is highly criminal, is made the most essential part of the commemoration of a saint. The ceremonies observed on this occasion (for they still subsist, and are performed every year at Rouen on the feast of the ascension, being called The Elevation of the Shrine) are described in the *Mercure François*, and in many other places.

favour of Henry, and a grant of the place. His majesty greatly regretted the loss of Dinteville and Bretauville: as likewise that of two officers of his household, Sainte Marie, and Canisy; as he had created their posts only in their favour, they were suppressed at their decease.

That exactness which I have prescribed myself, obliges me to give an account here of several sums of money, which, by my papers, I find to be paid this year, by the orders, and for the private expenses, of his majesty. Thirty-six thousand livres to don John de Medicis: the king made me take them upon the hundred thousand livres placed in the state of finances of the present year, to the account of his uncle, the grand-duke of Tuscany. Three thousand to cardinal Givry, and the same sum to cardinal Seraphin, which remained of the revenues of the abbey of Clérac, due before the contract made with those of St. John de Latran. Three thousand two hundred and twenty-five livres to Sante-ny, who had lent that sum to the king. Eighteen thousand and sixty livres to the bishop of Carcassonne, which had been long and importunately solicited by him, as being due to him by his majesty, to whom he proposed expedients without number for the payment. The king ordered me to require a sword enriched with precious stones, and some papers, from the bishop, which he had given him as security for this sum. Many considerable sums were lost by Henry at play; but I shall not set them all down here. He sent Beringhen to me for nine thousand livres, which he had lost at the fair of St. Germain, in little jewels and trinkets; writing to me, that the merchants were very pressing for their money. Beringhen came again some days afterwards for five thousand two hundred and sixty-five livres; three

days after that, I gave him three thousand more; and another time, three thousand six hundred livres.

I do not confound with these sums those that were given by the king to the prince of Condé, to enable him to make the tour of Italy; Henry could not be at too much expense to inspire this prince with proper sentiments; those which it cost him to repair the bastions of the gate of St. Antony and la Place-Royale; those which were paid to redeem the queen's rings from Ruceley, to whom they were pledged; nor those which he expended in buildings for his manufactures, which were very considerable, and, in my opinion, very useless. The undertakers would have thrown down, for that purpose, all the houses on one side of la Place-Royale; but Henry, according to the plan of the comptroller Donon, ordered them to be satisfied with erecting before those houses a kind of gallery, which preserved on that side of the square a uniformity with the others.

It was a difficult matter to agree upon a price with those celebrated Flemish tapestry-workers, which we had brought into France at so great an expense. At length it was resolved, in the presence of Sillery and me, that a hundred thousand franks should be given them for their establishment. Henry was very solicitous about the payment of this sum, "having," he said, "a great desire to keep them, and not to lose the advances we have made." He would have been better pleased if these people could have been paid out of some other funds than those which he had reserved for himself: however, there was a necessity for satisfying them at any price whatever. His majesty made use of his authority to oblige de Vienne to sign an acquittal to the undertakers for linen-cloth in imitation of Dutch hol-

land. This prince ordered a complete set of furniture to be made for him, which he sent to me to examine separately, to know if they had not imposed upon him. These things were not at all in my taste, and I was but a very indifferent judge of them: the price seemed to me to be excessive, as well as the quantity. Henry was of another opinion: after examining the work, and reading my paper, he wrote to me that there was not too much, that they had not exceeded his orders; that he had never seen so beautiful a piece of work before, and that the workman must be paid his demands immediately.

Henry did not leave Fontainebleau* till the end of July, when he went to Monceaux, where he staid three weeks. Towards the close of August, he went to St. Maur, where he was detained some days by a slight indisposition, during which time the queen drank the waters of Vanvres. The king staid at Paris all the month of September: he went thither again in December, having returned to Fontainebleau about the middle of October, and passed the autumn there. M. le Connetable went thither likewise, and was very graciously received by his majesty when they met at Bouron.

It was one of this prince's highest enjoyments to be with his children, all of whom he loved with the most

* He was attacked by the gout on Whitsun-eve. The fit was violent, says Matthieu, the pain most severe; but his courage and the strength of his constitution would have overcome it, had he not taken a greater liberty in eating fruit than his physicians thought proper to allow him. He did not indulge his disorder, but continued his usual exercise; and about the 21st of May, being in bed with the queen, and perceiving a new fit coming on in one of his feet, he removed into another bed; and finding the motion in his removal of service to him, he got up and ordered himself to be carried to the great canal, where he walked till he had tired himself to such a degree, that when he came back he fell asleep; and on waking again felt himself free from pain.

tender affection.* Hearing in the month of August that the effects of the contagious air began to be perceived at St. Germain, he wrote instantly to madam de Montglat to take the children to Noisy; and sent Frontenac post to me, to tell me that he depended upon my care and diligence to provide coaches, litters, and wag-gons, necessary for this removal. Monsieur the dauphin falling sick at Noisy, his majesty instantly wrote me an account of it, as he did likewise of his recovery; for he never failed to give me notice of every alteration in his health, whether for the better or worse; as likewise of all the rest of the royal family. It was judged that the children of France might return with safety to St. Germain in the month of November; but Henry, not willing to run the least hazard in a matter of such consequence, wrote to me and madam de Montglat, to stay at Noisy the whole month.† They were accordingly not removed till the first of December.

Time did not bring to the family of this prince that tranquillity which was so often disturbed by the pride

* Henry IV has been blamed for suffering the great affection he had, for both his lawful and natural children, to blind him so far as to prevent his seeing their faults, and acting with his usual prudence in what related to them. This I find him reproached with in the book called *l'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils*, Vol. I. p. 43 But I do not know whether the anecdotes it contains are as full of truth as they are of curious matters: I find an appearance of prejudice in it for certain persons, and against others, which gives one sufficient reason to lay no great stress on its evidence.

† The comet which appeared this year in the month of September, gave occasion to take all these precautions for the health of the children of France; because the astrologers gave out that it threatened their lives. Henry IV said to Matthieu his historian, who relates it, that the comet had shed its influence on the daughter of the king of England;‡ and that, through God's mercy, the astrologers had been mistaken. Vol. II. book iii. p. 769.

‡ The princess Mary, James's third daughter; she was only eighteen months old. EDIT.

and folly of women; on the contrary, those domestic disorders increased every day: great part of the conversation I had with his majesty in his library turned upon this subject. He intreated me, in terms such as one friend would use to another, to interpose once more between the two persons that caused all his uneasiness. I shall treat this subject more fully in the Memoirs of the following year; all I shall say concerning it in this, being only to explain the meaning of some letters I received from the king: one of these letters is dated from Verneuil, near Senlis, April 15. He there complains, that after having promised him at the Louvre to use my utmost endeavours to bring about an accommodation, yet I had suffered fifteen days to pass without doing any thing towards it. "I see," pursued he, "that the intreaties of a friend are not sufficiently persuasive, and you will reduce me to the necessity of requiring your obedience as a king and a master. Do not fail then to perform your promise, if you love me, and desire that I should love you; for I am resolved to extricate myself from all these intrigues, which, as you well know without my saying it, are but too often renewed; and to put an end to them, whatever it cost me. Adieu. You are very dear to me; but I must be equally so to you, which I shall be convinced of if you render me the service I desire of you."

I find another dated from Fontainebleau, in the month of October, conceived in these terms: "Something has happened in my family, which has given me more pain than any thing of the kind I have ever yet met with. I would purchase your presence at almost any price; for you are the only person to whom I can open my heart, and from whose advice I receive the

“greatest consolation. This affair is neither of love nor
“of jealousy; it is a matter of state. Dispatch your bu-
“siness quickly, that you may come to me as soon as
“possible. I employ M. Sillery; but he is unequal to
“the task. You may guess what it is in which I want
“your assistance: this obstinacy and insolence will at
“length become insupportable.” “For my private un-
“easiness,” he wrote some days afterwards, it will last
“for ever: if you were here you could not restrain your
“anger, but would speak your sentiments freely.” The
reader, I do not doubt, greatly pities this good prince;
and it was almost all that I could do for him.

The duke of Bouillon received a striking instance of the goodness and gentleness of Henry, when he resolved to yield Sedan again to him, and trust the guard of it to himself, by withdrawing Netancourt and the company he had placed there. The sieur Gamaliel de Monsire, commissary in ordinary of war, was sent thither for that purpose. His instructions, which were dated the last day of December in the present year, imported, that although the term of four years, during which the royal garrison was to remain there, was not yet expired; yet his majesty thought proper, for sufficient reasons, to withdraw it, and to put the duke of Bouillon again in possession of this city; that Monsire should give this company their pay for the remaining four months of the present year, after which it should be disbanded; and that this commissary should take care that the soldiers paid all the debts they had contracted among the town’s people. It being the king’s intention to fulfil exactly the article of the act of protection of April the 2d, 1596, by which his majesty engaged to maintain there a certain number of officers and

troops for the security of the city, Monsire was directed to make those officers and soldiers, who were placed in Sedan in the room of those that were commanded to leave it, take a particular oath to his majesty, besides that which by the treaty they were obliged to take four times a year, at their quarterly payments. These officers and soldiers bound themselves by oath to serve the king for and against all persons whatever, even against the duke of Bouillon himself, if he should neglect to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of 1606: and, lastly, Monsire was ordered to oblige the burghers of Sedan likewise to take the oath expressed in the act of protection, which differed from the other only in this, that they were released from that taken to the duke of Bouillon, and by his own consent, if he should ever be capable of engaging in opposite interests to those of his majesty. All this was exactly performed. The original instrument of this transaction was executed before the notaries of Sedan, and proved as well as the two oaths taken by the burghers and soldiers, which were reduced to writing, and dated one on the 22d, the other on the 23d of January following.

BOOK XXV.

1608.

I. Interludes and balls at the arsenal: a pleasant adventure between the duke of Sully and Pimentel: great offers made by Henry to Sully, which the latter refuses. The amours and mistresses of Henry IV. An interesting conversation between him and Sully, on the uneasiness he suffered from the queen, the marchioness de Verneuil, and their creatures: he employs Sully to pacify them. Birth of the third son of France. Sully is made umpire between the king and the marchioness de Verneuil. Quarrels, in which the prince of Joinville, the count of Sommerive, and the duke d'Eguillon, are concerned; with other court intrigues. Difficulty in concluding the marriage of the duke of Vendôme and mademoiselle de Mercœur.—II. A sedition among the heads of the Protestants; and the affairs of that party. Services which Sully does the king in the assembly of Protestants at Gergeau. Private life of Henry. He gives the bishopric of Metz to the duke de Verneuil. The clergy obtain some grants of the king, but are denied others. Henry carries on public works at his own expense: money which he loses at play. A great rising of the Loire.—III. Affairs of the finances; of the police; and other parts of the government. Sully's memorial upon the *taille*. Reflections upon the changes which have been made in the government of France. The duke of Mantua comes to Paris.—IV. A farther account of the affairs of the United Provinces: the truce is concluded: the part Henry has in it. The weak condition of Spain. The revolt of the Moors, and their expulsion from Spain. Affairs of Germany.

1. **THE** Memoirs of this year, like those of the former, will contain none of those extraordinary events, which cannot be read without astonishment or horror: I shall continue in them my usual details of the government, court intrigues, and the private life of Henry as well as my own. The winter was spent in diversions more varied and more frequent than ever, and in shows prepared with great magnificence. The king had sent for some comedians from Italy, in whose performances he

took much delight: he often sent for them to Fontainebleau to play before him, and in my absence commanded my son to pay them their appointments with great exactness. The arsenal was generally the place where those plays and shows were exhibited, which required some preparations. The king sometimes, when I was absent, came thither to run at the ring; but he never thought there was the same order and regularity preserved, as when I was there; and the queen, and the whole court, thought no other place so agreeable and convenient for theatrical representations. For this purpose I had caused a spacious hall to be built and fitted up, with an amphitheatre; and a great number of boxes, in several galleries separated from each other, with different degrees of height, and particular doors belonging to them. Two of these galleries were destined for the ladies, no gentleman being allowed to enter with them. This was one of my regulations, which I would not suffer to be broken, and of which I did not think it beneath me to enforce the observation.

One day when a very fine ballet was represented in this hall, I perceived a man leading in a lady, with whom he was preparing to enter one of the women's galleries: he was a foreigner, and I easily distinguished of what country, by the swarthy colour of his skin. "Sir," said I to him, "you must seek for another door, if you please; for I do not imagine, that, with such a complexion, you can hope to pass for a fair lady." "My lord," answered he in very bad French, "when you know who I am, I am persuaded you will not refuse to let me sit among those fair ladies, swarthy as I am. My name is Pimentel; I have the honour to enjoy his majesty's favour, who plays very often with

“me:” this was, indeed, but too true; for this foreigner, whom I had already heard often mentioned, had won immense sums from the king. “How, *Ventre-de-ma-vie!*” said I to him, affecting to be extremely angry, “you are then that fat Portuguese,* who every day wins the king’s money. *Pardieu!* you are come to a bad place; for I neither like such people, nor will suffer them to come here.” He offered to reply, but I would not hear him. “Go, go,” said I, pushing him back, “you shall not enter here: I am not to be prevailed upon by your gibberish.” The king afterwards asking him if he did not think the ballet very fine, and the dances exquisitely performed, Pimentel told him that he had a great inclination to see it, but that he met his grand financier, with his negative front, at one of the doors, who turned him back. He then related his adventure with me, at which the king was extremely pleased, and laughed heartily at his manner of telling it; nor did he forget to divert the whole court with it afterwards.

I shall not here have recourse to the artifices of false modesty, to insinuate that the affection the king showed for me, and the confidence he placed in me, had risen to such a height, that if I had been capable of aspiring to the proud title of *favourite*, I might have obtained it. The reader may judge of this by the offers his majesty made me this year: but it is necessary to take this matter a little higher.

Among the many calumnies which in the year 1605 had brought me to the brink of ruin, my enemies, by private informations, endeavoured to persuade Henry, that I intended to procure so rich and so powerful an

* Pimentel was not a Portuguese, but an Italian.

alliance for my son,* as might one day render him formidable to his majesty himself: that several persons, either by my desire, or to make their court to me, laboured so earnestly for the success of this scheme, that already I had it in my choice to marry my son either to mademoiselle de Bourbon, de Maïenne, de Montmorency, de Bouillon, or de Crequy, or into any of the richest private families in the kingdom, if I preferred a great estate to a noble name. This was one of the principal points of that long and serious conversation I had with his majesty the preceding year in his library, and of which I promised to relate all that I was permitted to discover, as opportunities offered: Henry asked me what were my views for my son, and whether there was any truth in those reports that he had heard concerning his marriage with one of those ladies I have mentioned. I acknowledged to his majesty, that it was indeed true. Each of those families had made me offers very capable of dazzling an ambitious man; but that my constant reply had been, that it was from his majesty alone I would receive a wife for my son.

The king appeared extremely well satisfied with this answer, and these sentiments; and opening his heart entirely, he told me, that with regard to me, there were two things which would give him equal uneasiness: one of which was, if, knowing the extreme concern it gave him to see the chief of his nobility mixing their blood with that of a burgher, or a plebeian, I should ever dream of marrying my son below the dignity of his

* Maximilian de Bethune, marquis of Rosny, eldest son of the duke of Sully, by Anne de Courtenay, his first wife. He was superintendant of the fortifications, governor of Mante and Gergeau, and master-general of the ordnance in reversion, after the death of his father; but he died before him, in 1634.

birth; and the other, if, erring in the contrary extreme, I should choose a wife for him either out of the house of Bourbon, or of Lorrain, but more especially that of Bouillon. Therefore, among the five young ladies proposed for Rosny, he saw only mademoiselle de Crequy on whom he could fix his choice; for every one knew the houses of Bonne, Blanchefort, and Agoust, to be of the lowest class of the nobility, although otherwise distinguished as much by brave examples of personal valour, as by the most shining dignities of the state. Henry, confirming himself in this thought, added, that he would not have the proposal come from any but himself; and that he would take a convenient time for it, which he did almost immediately after.

Lesdiguieres and Crequy were not hard to be persuaded: I may even say, that the eagerness they showed for the conclusion of the match did not abate, till they saw the articles not only drawn up but signed. I may say, likewise, with equal truth, that in the conditions they found no artifice on my side: I sought rather to acquire tender friends, than relations still nearer connected. Nothing fell out in the succeeding years, that did not confirm me in the thought, that I had succeeded in my endeavours to procure this happiness. Those years were full of glory and prosperity for me; but they are past: those friends, so affectionate, have disappeared with my favour; those allies so respectful, have vanished with my fortune: but what do I say? have they not endeavoured to complete my misfortune, and that of my son, by giving me cause to detest, on a thousand accounts, the most unhappy of all alliances? Why had I not the power of reading hearts? But perhaps I have reason to thank heaven for my error and my credulity:

the temptation to which I saw myself a short time afterwards exposed, might have been then too powerful for conscience to have surmounted.

Although the marriage, thus absolutely resolved on, was not celebrated immediately, as both parties left it to the king to fix the time for it,* from that moment I looked upon the tie, which united the family of Crequy to mine, as indissoluble; and I was so far the dupe of the sincerity and tenderness of my own heart, as to make this alliance one argument for not suffering myself to be influenced by the enchanting prospect that was suddenly offered to my view. It was at the latter end of this year, which was some months after the treaty with the Crequy family had been concluded, that this temptation was thrown in my way; and in the beginning of this, when I was more strongly assailed by it. But before I explain myself, it is necessary to observe, that it was still by an effect of the most refined malice of my enemies, that I saw myself in a situation wherein it depended only upon my own choice to reach the highest degree of greatness and splendour that any subject could arrive at.

My enemies then began to insinuate to the king, under an appearance of zeal both for him and me, which he thought very sincere, that he had not yet done enough for me; that he ought not to delay offering and obliging

* It was not celebrated till the month of October, in the following year, at Charenton, by M. du Moulin, a reformed minister. The lady was only nine or ten years old: she was called Frances, daughter of Charles de Blanchefort de Crequy, prince of Poix, and afterwards duke of Lesdiguières, by his marriage with Magdalen de Bonny de Lesdiguières, daughter of the constable of that name. The marquis of Rosny had issue by her, Maximilian Francis de Bethune, duke of Sully, &c. and Louisa de Bethune, who died unmarried.

me to accept all that his munificence was able to bestow, without requiring any thing more of me than what indeed appeared most essential and indispensably necessary; namely, to quit the Protestant and embrace the Catholic religion. It was, doubtless, far from their intention to procure so many advantages for me; and I shall easily prove, that the object they had in view was diametrically opposite to that which they appeared to have by the proposals they made. They had inwardly so good an opinion of me, as to believe that I would not purchase any advancement at the price of quitting my religion. From my refusal, therefore, they hoped to persuade the king, that he had every thing to fear from a man who was capable of making his religion triumph over his interest, which it was generally found no considerations, whether sacred or profane, were able to resist. The king, pleased with the prospect of advancing me, received this proposal with intentions so different from those of the persons by whom it was made to him, that I cannot preserve a too grateful remembrance of his goodness.

Accordingly he sent for me one morning to the Louvre; and shutting himself up with me in his library, "Well, my friend," said he, "you have been in great haste to conclude the treaty for your son's marriage, though I cannot conceive why; for, in this alliance, I can see no advantage for you, either in blood, riches, or person." Henry, it is apparent, had forgot that I had done nothing in this affair but by his express commands. "I have resolved," continued he, "to employ you with more authority than ever in the administration, and to raise you and your family to all sorts of honours, dignities, and riches; but there is a necessity

“that you should assist me in the execution of this design: for if you do not contribute to it on your side, it will be difficult for me to accomplish my intentions, without prejudice to my affairs, and hazarding great blame; consequences which I am persuaded you would be unwilling I should draw upon myself. My design, then, is to ally you to myself, by giving my daughter Vendome* in marriage to your son, with a portion of two hundred thousand crowns in ready money, and a pension of ten thousand a year; the government of Berry to your son, to which I shall join that of Bourbonnois, after madam d’Angoulême’s decease; and the domain she possesses there, by reimbursing the money it cost her. I will likewise give your son the post of master-general of the ordnance in reversion, and the government of Poitou to your son-in-law, for which I shall give you that of Normandy in exchange; for I see very plainly, that poor M. de Montpensier will not live long,† any more than the constable, whose office I likewise destine for you, and will give you the reversion of it now. But to favour all this, it is necessary that you and your son should embrace the Catholic religion. I intreat you not to refuse me this

* Catharine-Henrietta de Vendome, legitimated daughter of Henry the Fourth, by Gabrielle d’Estrées. She married Charles of Lorraine, duke d’Elbœuf, and died in 1663.

† Henry de Bourbon, duke of Montpensier, actually died in the month of February in this year, after languishing two years, during which time he lived only on women’s milk; having prepared himself in a truly Christian manner for his death. Henry IV being informed of it, said aloud. “We ought all to pray to God to grant us as much time to repent as this prince had.” Matthieu, *ibid.* 772. The duke of Montpensier was only thirty-five years old. The branch of Bourbon Montpensier became extinct in him; for he left only one daughter, who was contracted in marriage to the duke of Orleans, second son of Henry IV.

“request, since the good of my service, and the fortune
“of your house, require it.”

The recital I have made here is so proper to excite and to flatter vanity, that, to avoid so dangerous a snare, I will not give way to any reflections upon it, not even to such as must necessarily arise on the goodness of a prince, who enforced his intreaties with acts of the highest munificence. My answer was conceived, as I remember, in these terms: I told his majesty, that he did me more honour than I deserved, and even more than I could hope or desire: that it was not for me to decide concerning the two proposals he had made for my son, since his settlement in the world depended entirely on his majesty, and he was arrived to an age that rendered him capable of serious reflections upon religion, and might therefore direct his choice himself: but with regard to me, the case was quite different. I assured him with the utmost sincerity, that I could not think of increasing my honours, dignities, or riches, at the expense of my conscience: that if I should ever change my religion, it would be from conviction alone; neither ambition, avarice, nor vanity, being able to influence me: and that if I acted otherwise, his majesty himself would have good reason for distrusting a heart that could not preserve its faith to God. “But why,” replied Henry, with a cordiality that sensibly affected me, “why should I suspect you, since you would not “do any thing that I have not done before you, and “which, when I proposed the affair to you, you did not “advise me to the contrary. Give me, I beseech you, “this satisfaction: I will allow you a month to consider “of it: fear not that I will fail in the performance of “any of my promises.”

“I have not, sire,” I replied, “the least doubt but that your word is inviolable: I desire nothing so ardently as to please you; nor will I ever neglect any thing that is in my power to do. I promise to think seriously of all that you have been pleased to propose to me, still hoping I shall satisfy your majesty, though not perhaps in the way you expect.”

The Protestants hearing that I intended to break off my proposed alliance with Lesdiguieres, and to marry my son to mademoiselle de Vendome, for this report was immediately spread every where, now believed they were going to lose me entirely. They had long, with the severest reproaches, accused me with having laboured to ruin the party in France, by amassing up such considerable sums for the king, and providing such an abundance of warlike stores, which their fears represented to them would be first employed against them. In vain did I endeavour to convince them, that they had no reason to apprehend such designs from a prince like Henry. Their prejudices made them always return to their former suspicions of me; in these they were confirmed by the affection the king showed for Rosny, calling him often *my son*; the free access which all ecclesiastics had to my house; the care I took to repair churches, hospitals, and convents, in which I every year expended a considerable sum of the royal revenues; the brief of Paul V, of which several copies had been taken; and I know not how many other circumstances, all which at that moment concurred to persuade them of my breach of faith.

The chief persons amongst the Protestants, and the ministers especially, seemed to be most uneasy at this

report, not only because of the triumph which their enemies were going to have over them; but because they were persuaded, and they even said it publicly, that if I was once prevailed upon to abandon them, I should not act with indifference towards them, but become their most zealous persecutor. For a long space of time, I heard nothing but exhortations, remonstrances, and harangues, from that party, which were not likely to be very efficacious after what the king had said to me, if I had not happily found the strongest support within myself. The countess of Sault, Lesdiguieres, and the Crequy family, exerted themselves, in the mean time, with the utmost vigour, to hinder the marriage with mademoiselle de Crequy from being broken off, and that with mademoiselle de Vendome from going forward: they endeavoured to persuade the queen to interest herself in their cause, and complained to her of what was designed to their prejudice. But finding that she would do nothing in the affair, they renewed their solicitations to me, making use of every method they thought capable of keeping me on their side; assiduities, assurances, promises, oaths, all were employed to dissuade me from a design I had never entertained.

During these transactions, I left Paris to take a journey to Sully, and my other estates; and immediately upon my return, which was at the end of ten or twelve days, his majesty sent Villeroi to me to receive my answer upon the proposals he had made to me. I was not sorry that he had deputed a person to me before whom I could declare, with the utmost freedom, those sentiments which reflection had but the more confirmed. I told Villeroi, that I most humbly thanked his majesty

for all the honours he had conferred on me: that I could never consent to be invested with the offices of persons still living; and that, although they should become vacant, I did not think myself entitled to them, being already possessed of as many as I desired: that as to what regarded my son, I should never have any other counsel to give him, than to obey the king, and to do nothing against his own conscience. I had particular reasons for being still less explicit upon the articles of my change of religion: I therefore only told Villeroi, that cardinal du Perron should bear my answer to his majesty. His eminence, as well as Henry, thought there was great meaning in these words: the king related them to du Perron, declaring that he entertained some hopes from them. And soon after this, the cardinal came to visit me, and entreated me to open my whole heart to him. My answer had both strength, and even theology enough in it to convince du Perron that he had been deceived in his expectations: neither his learning nor his eloquence could move me; and at his return, he told the king I was inflexible.

His majesty, who was desirous of making one effort more, sent for me again: but although he made use of no other arguments than what the gentleness of his disposition, and his affection for me suggested, and, if I may be permitted to say so, such solicitations as became our ancient friendship, yet I was persuaded, the danger would not stop there, great as it was even then, especially when he began to reproach me, and called my constancy and firmness, obduracy to him; and a certain sign, he said, that I no longer loved him. At length, he told me, that this was the last time he would speak of

this matter to me; and that he expected I should give him my son at least. To this I again replied, that I would not deny him; but that I could not consent to use the authority of a father to make my son embrace the Roman Catholic religion. His firmness was equal to my own; and the king, who would not bestow his daughter on any of the princes of the blood for fear of rendering them too powerful, resolved to marry mademoiselle de Vendome to the son of M. le Connetable. The countess of Sault took this opportunity to renew her solicitations for the accomplishing her grand-daughter's marriage.

All that now remained to be done, was to guard against the counter-blow of my enemies: and this I did not neglect, when I found that they were busy in preparing it for me. I took that opportunity to write to the king, telling him, that I was not ignorant of any thing that was reported to him to give him a bad impression of my thoughts, words, and actions: that they imputed to me what I neither thought, said, nor did. I earnestly intreated him not to forget the promise he had made me, to declare to me himself his will, and what causes of complaint he had against me. His answer was wholly calculated to restore my quiet, and secure me against all apprehensions from my enemies: he told me in it, that I, in common with all persons in power, excited more envy than compassion. "You know," added he, "whether I am exempted from it from the people of both religions. This then is all you have to do: that since I take your advice in all my affairs, do you also take mine in every thing that relates to you, as that of the most faithful friend you have in the world, and the best master that ever lived."

It was not without some reason that Henry instanced himself as an example. He had likewise his uneasinesses, and his secret enemies: for although we no longer, as formerly, saw seditions ready to break out in the kingdom, because the exertion of the royal authority had obliged insolence and mutiny to keep themselves concealed; yet it was but too certain, that in court, and among the most considerable persons in the kingdom, the same turbulent and restless spirit, the same eager panting after novelties, which had so long kept the state in disorder and anarchy, were perceived. That spirit now showed itself in divisions amongst families, and quarrels between particular persons, which Henry laboured to compose by every method in his power, looking upon them as seeds from whence nothing but the most dangerous fruits could proceed: and it gave him great pain when he could not always succeed to his wish. The reign of Henry the Fourth, which in many respects bore a great resemblance to that of Augustus, had likewise this in conformity with his, that it was disturbed by quarrels among his nobility; and on these occasions, the example of Augustus was what Henry commonly proposed to himself to imitate. *Æquitate non aculeo* was the motto which, by his direction, I put on the gold medals struck this year, which represented a swarm of bees in the air, with their king in the midst of them; without a sting. I presented these medals to Henry, as he passed through his little gallery to that which leads to the Tuilleries, where we walked together a long time, discoursing upon the subject I have just mentioned, and those domestic quarrels which embittered the life of a prince too gentle and too good, whose unhappiness I have so often deplored.

The reader may perceive, that in my Memoirs of the late years, I have faithfully observed the promise I had formerly made, to entertain him no more with the weaknesses of Henry. I carefully concealed from my secretaries, and all other persons, whatever passed between Henry and me upon this subject, in the many long and secret conversations we had together: except the dutchess of Beaufort and the marchioness de Verneuil, the name of no other woman has been mentioned in these Memoirs, with the title of mistress to the king. I choose rather to suppress all the trouble I have suffered in this article, than make it known at the expense of my master's glory: probably I have carried this scruple too far. The public has heard so often the names of madam de Moret,* mademoiselle des Essarts, old madam d'An-

* Jacqueline de Beuil, countess of Moret; Charlotte des Essarts, countess of Romorantin; two of Henry the fourth's mistresses. By the first, he had Antony earl of Moret, killed at the battle of Castelnaudary, in 1632: and by the second, he had two daughters; one abbess of Fontevraud, and the other of Chelles. By those two ladies, by the dutchess of Beaufort, and by the marchioness de Verneuil, who successively had openly the title of the king's mistress, he had eight children, which were all he legitimated. Besides these he was in love with Mary Babou, viscountess d'Estauges, two cousins of the fair Gabrielle, and many others. See l'Histoire des Amours du Grand Alcandre.

After the death of Henry IV, mademoiselle des Essarts secretly married the cardinal of Guise, Lewis of Lorraine; the pope having granted him a dispensation for that marriage, and, at the same time, empowered him still to hold his benefices. This is proved by the very contract of marriage, found amongst the cardinal's papers after his death, executed in the most authentic form. Mention is made of this in the *Mercurie Hist. and Polit.* April, 1688. From this marriage, two sons were born; one bishop of Condom, and the second earl of Romorantin; and two daughters, one of whom married the marquis of Rhodes. Charlotte des Essarts afterwards married Francis du Hallier de l'Hospital, marshal of France, earl of Rosnay, &c. The commentary of *Les Amours du Grand Alcandre* remarks only, that she was the cardinal of Guise's mistress; and afterwards of N. de Vic, archbishop of Auch. She was the natural daughter of the baron of Sau-

goulême, the countess of Sault, mesdames de Ragny, and de Chamlivault, two of my relations; the commandeur de Sillery,* Rambouillet, Marillac, Duret the physician, another physician, who was a Jew, and many of the most considerable persons at court, all differently interested in these adventures of gallantry, either as principals or as parties concerned, that I might relate a great deal without saying anything new, which would be indeed but a cold repetition of little debates and love quarrels, such as those which I have already slightly mentioned. The following circumstance I have excepted from this rule, as it is of a nature that seems to require I should justify my part in it to the public.

On one of these occasions, when Henry was most deeply affected with the uneasy temper of the queen, it was reported, that he had quitted her with some emotion, and set out for Chantilly without seeing her. This indeed was true: he took the arsenal in his way, and there opened his whole heart to me upon the cause of this dispute. The king pursued his journey, and I went in the afternoon to the Louvre, attended only by one of my secretaries, who did not follow me to the queen's little closet, where she was then shut up. Leonora Conchini was sitting at the door of this closet, her head bending down towards her shoulder, like a person who was sleeping, or at least in a profound reverie. I drew her out of it, and she told me, that the queen would not suffer her to enter her closet, the door of which, however, was opened to me the moment I was named.†

tor, in Champagne. *Journal du Règne de Henry III*, printed in 1720, vol. I. p. 277.

* Noel de Sillery, brother of the chancellor, ambassador at Rome.

† The queen for a long time, placed a great confidence in M. de Sully. The author of *l'Histoire de la Mere et du Fil* says, that princess having re-

I found the queen busy in composing a letter to the king, which she allowed me to read: it breathed an air of spleen and bitterness which must inevitably have very bad effects. I made her so sensible of the consequences it was likely to produce, that she consented to suppress it, though with great difficulty; and upon condition that I should assist her in composing another, wherein nothing should be omitted of all that, as she said, she might with justice represent to the king her husband. There was a necessity for complying with this request, to avoid something worse. Many little debates arose between us, concerning the choice of expressions and the force of each term. I had occasion for all the presence of mind I was capable of exerting, to find out the means of satisfying this princess, without displeasing the king, or of being guilty of any disrespect in addressing him. This letter, which was very long, I shall not repeat here. The queen complained in it of the continual gallantries of the king her husband; but declared, that she was excited to this only by the earnest desire she had to possess his heart entirely.

solved one day, by the advice of Cochini, to inform the king that certain of the courtiers had had the boldness to make love to her, she was desirous of previously taking the duke of Sully's advice in regard to it, who persuaded her not to execute that resolution, by representing to her, "That she was going to give the king the strongest and justest suspicion a sovereign could have of his wife; since every man of common sense must know very well, that it would be highly improper to entertain a person of her rank on the subject of love, without previously being assured, that it would not be disagreeable to her, or from her having made the first advances: and that the king might imagine, the motives which had induced her to make such a discovery, were either fear that it should have been made by some other means, or that she had taken a disgust against the persons accused, by meeting with somebody else more agreeable in her eyes; or, in fine, through the persuasion of others, who had influence enough over her to prevail on her to take this resolution." Vol. I. p. 10.

If therefore she appeared to insist too absolutely upon his sacrificing his mistress to her; her quiet, her conscience, and her honour, the interest of the king, his health and his life, the good of the state, and the security of her children's succession to the throne, which the marchioness de Verneuil took pleasure in rendering doubtful, were so many motives which reduced her, she said, to the disagreeable necessity of making such a demand, with some degree of peremptoriness: to awaken his tenderness, and excite his compassion, she added, that she, together with the children she had by him, would throw themselves at his feet: she reminded him of his promises, and took God to witness, that if she could but prevail upon him to keep them, she would, on her part, renounce all other vengeance against the marchioness de Verneuil.

All my caution was scarcely sufficient to avoid the extremes the queen would have run into: it is apparent, however, that I failed either in address or invention; for the king, when he received this letter, was exceedingly offended with it, and so much the more, as he instantly perceived that it was not in the queen's manner. I received a note from him immediately, conceived in these terms: "My friend, I have received the most impertinent letter from my wife that ever was written. I am not so angry with her, as with the person that has dictated it; for I see plainly that it is not her style. Endeavour to discover the author of it: I never shall have any regard for him, whoever he be; nor will I see him as long as I live." However secure I thought myself, I could not help being uneasy at this note.

The king, on his arrival from Chantilly three or four days afterwards, came to the arsenal. I was suffi-

ciently perplexed by the questions he asked me concerning this affair; for it was expressly for that purpose that he came. "Well," said he, "have you yet discovered the person who composed my wife's letter?" "Not yet certainly," replied I, making use of some little address, "but I hope to give you this satisfaction in two days; and probably sooner, if you will tell me what there is in it that displeases you." "Oh," replied he, "the letter is mighty well written; full of reasons, obedience, and submission; but wounds me smiling, and while it flatters piques me. I have no particular exception to make to it; but, in general, I am offended with it, and shall be the more so if it be made public." "But, sire," replied I, "if it be such as you say, it may have been written with a good intention, and to prevent something still worse." "No! no!" interrupted Henry, "it is maliciously designed, and with a view to insult me. If my wife had taken advice from you, or from any of my faithful servants in it, I should not have been so much offended." "What, sire," I resumed hastily, "if it were one of your faithful servants who had dictated it, would you not bear him some ill will?" "Not the least," returned the king; "for I should be very certain, that he had done it with a good intention." "It is true, sire," said I: "therefore, you must be no longer angry; for it was I that dictated it, through an apprehension that something worse might happen: and when you know my reasons, you will confess, that I was under a necessity of doing it. But, to remove all your doubts, I will show you the original, written in my own hand, by the side of the queen's." Saying this, I took the letter out of my pocket, and presented it to him.

The king, as he read it, made me observe some words, in the place of which the queen, when she copied the letter, had substituted others far less obliging. "Well," said he, "since you are the author, let us say no more of it: my heart is at rest. But this is not all," added he, taking advantage of the ascendant, which, on this occasion, I seemed to have over the mind of the queen: "there are two services which I expect from you." I listened to the king with great attention, and without once interrupting him, although he spoke a long time; and I shall here relate his words, which I took down in writing at the time. It is by this kind of familiar conversations that the heart is best known. "I know," said he, "that my wife came twice to your house, while "I was at the chase: that she was shut up with you in "your wife's closet, each time above an hour; that at "her coming out from thence, although her colour seemed to be raised by anger, and her eyes full of tears, "yet she behaved in a friendly manner to you, thanked "you, and appeared not ill satisfied with what you had "said to her: and that you may know I am not ill informed, I shall not hide from you, that it was my cousin de Rohan, your daughter, who related all this to "me; not for the sake of telling secrets, but because "she thought I should be glad to see my wife and you "upon such friendly terms. It must certainly be, therefore, that my wife has some business of consequence "with you: for, notwithstanding all the questions I have "asked her, she has never said a single word, or given "the smallest intimation of these two conferences. I "forbid you likewise, upon pain of my displeasure, to "say any thing of this matter to my cousin de Rohan: "you will deprive me of the pleasure I have in seeing

“her here, and she will never tell me any thing more,
“if she knows I have repeated this to you. Although
“I laugh and play with her as with a child, yet I do not
“find in her a childish understanding. She sometimes
“gives me very good advice, and is extremely secret,
“which is an excellent quality. I have told her many
“things in confidence, which I have been convinced
“she never mentioned, either to you or to any other
“person.

“But to return to these two important services, which
“you only, in my opinion, are able to undertake, I have
“already said, and I repeat it again, that you must be
“extremely careful to avoid giving the least suspicion
“that you have concerted with me what you are to do
“and say in these affairs: it must not appear, that I
“knew any thing of your interposition, but that you act
“entirely of yourself; and you must even feign to be ap-
“prehensive of its coming to my ear. One of these
“services regards madam de Verneuil: it is with her
“you must begin, and this will smooth your way to the
“other. You must tell this lady, that, as her particular
“friend, you come to give her notice, that she is upon
“the point of losing my favour, unless she behaves with
“great prudence and circumspection: that you have
“discovered, that there are persons at court who are
“endeavouring to engage me in affairs of gallantry with
“others; and that, if this should happen, you are fully
“persuaded, that I shall take her children from her,
“and confine her to a cloister; that this abatement in
“my affection for her is, in the first place, apparently
“caused by the suspicion I have entertained that she
“no longer loves me; that she takes the liberty to speak
“of me often with contempt, and even prefers other

“ persons to me: secondly, because she seeks to strengthen herself with the interest of the house of Lorraine, as if she were desirous of some other protector than me; but, above all, her connexions and familiarities with messieurs de Guise and de Joinville offend me to the last degree; being fully convinced, that from them she will receive only such counsels as are dangerous both to my person and state; as likewise from her father and her brother, with whom, notwithstanding my prohibition to her, she still corresponds, when she might have thought herself happy, that, at her intreaties, I spared their lives; that she sends messages to her brother by his wife, whom I have allowed to visit him; but that the chief cause of my estrangement from her is her insolent behaviour to the queen.”

Henry then told me many circumstances concerning the marchioness, which I have already related, “ If,” continued he, “ either by an effect of your industry or good fortune, you can prevail upon her to alter her conduct in all these respects, you will not only free me from great uneasiness, and set my heart at rest with regard to her, but you will likewise furnish yourself with the means of disposing the queen to accommodate herself to my will, which is the second service that I require and expect from you: you must remonstrate with her, still as from yourself, that it is absolutely necessary she should do so, if she would engage me to give her the satisfaction she demands. That, among many other causes of disgust which she gives me, nothing is more insupportable to me, than that absolute authority she suffers Conchini and his wife to have over her; that these people make her do whatever they please, oppose all that they dislike, and

“love and hate, as they direct her passions; that they
“have at length exhausted my patience; and that I
“often reproach myself for not following the advice
“given me by the dutchess of Florence, don John, Jou-
“anini, Gondy, and even what my own judgment sug-
“gested, which was to send them both back to Italy
“from Marseilles. I was desirous,” pursued the king,
“to repair this fault through the interposition of don
“John; but I soon perceived it was too late: for scarce
“did he enter upon the subject with the queen, to whom
“he proposed it by way of advice, than she flew, as you
“know, into such an excess of rage against him, that
“there was no sort of reproaches, insults, and threats,
“which she did not use to him; so that, not able to en-
“dure them, he quitted France, notwithstanding all my
“endeavours to retain him. But before this happened,
“the princess of Orange thought of other expedients
“for removing these two persons, and proposed them
“to me by madam de Verneuil, who thought to pre-
“vail upon the queen, by this complaisance for her
“favourites, to permit her to see her, and come freely
“to the Louvre. These expedients, to which I con-
“sented, because I found you did not oppose them, were
“to marry Conchini to la Leonor, and afterwards to
“send them back to Italy, under the honourable pre-
“tence of living with splendour in their own country,
“upon the great riches they had acquired in France:
“but all this, instead of softening my wife, or engaging
“her to alter her conduct, has only taught her to op-
“pose my will with more obstinacy than before; and
“the Conchinis, both husband and wife, are now be-
“come so insolent and audacious, that they have dared
“to threaten my person, if I use any violence to their
“friends.”

It was not easy for the king to quit this subject, through the rage with which he was agitated against this whole party. Among many others, he recounted the following circumstance, which, till then, I thought he had been ignorant of. My wife, knowing that Conchini had a design to purchase la-Ferté-au-Vidame, which was worth two or three hundred thousand crowns, she thought such a considerable estate would give occasion for murmurs that could not fail of reflecting back upon the queen herself, on account of the protection she was known to grant them. She did not hesitate, therefore, a moment about waiting on the queen, to represent to her, that it was her interest to hinder Conchini from pushing the matter any further. The queen received this advice very graciously, and thanked my wife for giving it her: but as soon as she saw the Conchinis, they knew so well how to make her alter her opinion, that she exclaimed in a strange manner against madam de Rosny, and would not see her for some time. Probably her resentment would have lasted much longer, had she not reflected, that both herself and her favourites had always occasion for me. "I have been told," added Henry, "that Conchini had the impudence to reproach your wife upon this occasion, and used expressions so full of insolence both against her and me, that I am surprised she did not answer him more severely: but, doubtless, she was restrained by her fears of breaking entirely with my wife. You cannot imagine," pursued Henry, not able to cease his invectives against this Italian, "how greatly I was provoked to see this man undertake to be the challenger at a tournamont, against all the bravest, and most gallant men in France, and this in the grande rue St. Antoine, where my wife and all the

“ladies of the court were present; and that he should
“have the good fortune to carry it: but nothing ever
“gave me greater pleasure than I had at this course,
“when I saw M. de Nemours, and the marquis de Ros-
“ny your son, arrive, mounted upon two excellent
“horses, which they managed with equal grace, and
“uncommon justness.”

Henry, after dwelling some time longer upon a circumstance that had given him so much pleasure, renewed his former subject. “Be careful,” said he to me, “to manage those two affairs, I have recommended to you, cautiously; proceed leisurely, and as opportunities offer, without hazarding any thing by too great precipitation: in a word, act with your usual prudence, respect, and address. I protest I shall esteem these two services more than if you had gained me a battle, or taken the city and castle of Milan with your cannon; for my heart suggests to me, that this man and woman will one day do great mischief: I find in them designs above their condition, and absolutely contrary to their duty.” I asked his majesty again, why he referred to me an affair, the success of which, in my hands, was so doubtful; whereas, if he would undertake it himself, it would cost him no more to execute it, than to pronounce to two women with a resolute tone, these few words, *I will have it so*. His reply to this, and the debates that followed, were the same with those which the reader has already too often seen in these Memoirs. At last he went away, saying, as he embraced me, “Adieu, my friend; I earnestly recommend to you these two affairs, for they are very near my heart: but, above all, be secret.”

All that, by my utmost endeavour, I was able to do for the tranquillity of this prince, was to procure him

some short calms, amidst the long and often repeated storms he was obliged to suffer; in such an unequal vicissitude did he pass the few days that heaven still left him. One of his longest intervals of quiet was during the queen's lying-in. She had followed the king, who went in the beginning of March to Fontainebleau. It was not possible to carry tenderness and solicitude farther than Henry did: while she was in this condition, he often wrote to me from Fontainebleau, and in every letter gave me an account of the queen's health. "I thought," said he in one of these letters, "to have sent you the news of my wife's being brought to bed; but I believe it will not be this night." In another, "My wife imagines she will go to the end of the month, since she has passed yesterday." The queen was delivered of her third son* on the 26th of April.

The king still continuing to write to me as usual, in one of his letters ordered me to acquaint him how the news of his son's birth was received; "not by you," said he, "for there I have no doubt; but by the public." I keep with great care the following letter, which his majesty sent me by the duke of Rohan, upon hearing that my wife had lain-in of a son about the same time that the queen did. "I do not believe, that any of my servants have taken greater interest in the birth of my son d'Anjou than you; and I would have you likewise believe, that I surpass all your friends in joy for the birth of yours: you will be stunned with their flatteries; but the assurance I give you of my friendship,

* Gaston-John-Baptist of France, then called duke of Anjou, and afterwards duke of Orleans: he died in 1660. Siri makes Henry IV say, before the birth of this prince, that he would dedicate him to the church, and that he should be called the cardinal of France. Ibid. 568.

“ought to be more convincing than all their speeches. “Remember me to the lying-in lady.”*

The queen was more indisposed after this lying-in, than she had ever been before; but proper remedies being used, she was soon restored to perfect health. The king took all imaginable care of her. He came to Paris in the beginning of May, but returned almost immediately after to Fontainebleau; and the joy the queen showed at his return filled him with a real satisfaction. He allowed, at the request of this princess, that ten or twelve thousand crowns should be expended on buildings at Monceaux, and sent me orders for that purpose. It is from these letters of his majesty that I collect all these circumstances. This order he repeated when the master builder, who had undertaken the work, informed him, that he had been obliged, through want of money, to dismiss his men. I had given him an assignment upon a restitution of money to be paid by the nephew of Argouges, which he had not yet done, pretending, to gain time, that he owed nothing. The king sent me orders to press him for the payment, and to advance the master-builder the money out of other funds, without referring him to Fresne, who could not be forced to pay it. Being apprehensive that I should give credit to the reports which were made me of the queen's being disgusted, and that she sought a pretence for quarrelling with me, he, in another letter, for a proof of the contrary, related to me in what manner this princess had taken my part against M. and madam de Ventadour, who had made some complaints of me to their majesties.

* “I should have been glad,” says Henry IV, “if God had sent him a dozen sons; for it would be a great pity, that from so good a stem there should be no shoots.” Mem. Hist. de France, *ibid*.

One could not give Henry a more sensible pleasure, than by conforming one's self to that complaisance which he had for every one with whom he lived in any degree of friendship or familiarity. I received from him a gracious acknowledgment for some services rendered to madam de Verneuil and madam de Moret, and for the methods I made use of to free him from mademoiselle des Essarts. This young lady began to be extremely troublesome to him: she had the presumption to expect she should have the same ascendant over him as his other mistresses. At last, however, she seemed willing to retire into the abbey of Beaumont, and named certain conditions, upon which Zamet and la Varenne were often sent by Henry to confer with me. He gave himself the trouble to write to the president de Motteville, concerning the place of a *maitre-des-comptes* at Rouen, which the young lady requested for one of her friends; and to Montauban, to advance the money for the purchase. There was a necessity likewise for giving her a thousand crowns, and five hundred to the abbey of Beaumont, which she had chosen for her retreat.* Both these sums the king demanded of me, in a letter dated the 12th of May: happy, indeed, to get rid of her at so easy a rate.

He likewise desired my advice, as to the manner in which he should behave to avoid a quarrel with the queen, on an occasion when Conchini became a competitor with madam de Verneuil, for a favour which that lady had obtained a promise of two years before. "I love," said he in his letter, "madam de Verneuil better than Conchini." Which indeed was not to be

* She did not retire thither: or, at least, if she did, she did not stay long there.

doubted: but at that time he was obliged to act with great circumspection towards the queen. This gave rise to an intrigue at court, that afforded great pleasure to several persons, which I cannot better explain than by the following letter the king wrote me from Fontainebleau:

“Although I have parted with madam de Verneuil upon very bad terms, yet I cannot help having some curiosity to know, if there be any foundation for the report which prevails here, that the prince of Joinville visits her: learn the truth of it, and give me notice in a letter, which I will burn, as you must do this. It is this, they say, that retains him so long: you know well it is not for want of money.” The report was indeed true: Joinville had suffered himself to be captivated by the charms of the marchioness, who, as it was said, did not let him despair. For a long time, nothing was talked of but their intimacy, and the very passionate letters which it was pretended they writ to each other; and it was at last confidently reported, that he had offered to marry her: it must be observed, that all this I repeat after the court and Pais. Trifling as this affair may seem, there were in it some circumstances relating to the king, of such consequence as to make a profound secrecy necessary. If matters had really gone so far between the two lovers as people were willing to believe, madam de Verneuil, notwithstanding all her experience, was here the dupe; she was not sufficiently well acquainted with the disposition and conduct of a young man, still less amorous, than rash and heedless: promises, oaths, privacies, letters, all, in a very little time, ended in a rupture, which was equally imputed to both. How-

ever, to say the truth, the fault lay on madam de Villars,* who appeared too beautiful in the eyes of Joinville to leave his heart faithful to its first choice.

Madam de Villars did not at first appear so easy a conquest as her rival had been; proud of her alliance with the blood royal, she treated him with distance and reserve. Joinville, repulsed, and in despair, extorted from her a confession of the cause of her rigour. She told him, that after the correspondence he had, and still continued to carry on, with a lady so beautiful and witty as madam de Verneuil, it would be dangerous to rely on his fidelity. Joinville defended himself: it is not necessary to say in what terms. She refused him, by alleging their interviews, and letters; one in particular from madam de Verneuil, more tender and passionate than the rest. On such an occasion, it is a custom to make to the beloved lady a sacrifice of her letters who was abandoned. Joinville resisted as long as he was able; but, at last, put into the hands of madam de Villars that pretended letter; (I say pretended, because it was far from being certain that this letter, which he was prevailed upon with so much difficulty to show, ever came from madam de Verneuil;) but be that as it will, for the use madam de Villars intended to make of this letter, it was indifferent to her whether it was forged or not.

This woman had an inveterate hatred to the marchioness de Verneuil: the moment she had the letter in her possession, she flew with it to the king. It was not difficult, with such a proof, to force belief; and she made such an artful use of it, that this prince, hitherto

* Juliet-Hyppolita d'Estrées, wife of George de Brancas, marquis de Villars.

ignorant, or willing to seem so, of the greatest part of the intrigue, came instantly to me, with a heart filled with grief and rage, and related to me I know not how many circumstances, which to him appeared as certain proofs of her guilt; though I thought them far from being convincing. I told him, for it was necessary to treat this affair methodically, that he ought to hear what madam de Verneuil could say for herself, before he condemned her. "Oh! heavens! hear her?" cried Henry, "she has such power of expression, that if I listen to her, she will persuade me I am to blame, and that she is injured: yet I will speak to her, and show her these proofs of her perfidy." In effect, he went away breathing nothing but vengeance. Joinville's intrigues with the governor of Franche-Comté seemed to him not half so criminal.

The marchioness de Verneuil, long accustomed to these sort of transports, was not much alarmed; and maintained to the king, that Joinville had been wicked enough to forge this letter. Henry, softened by a circumstance which had not entered into his head before, became almost entirely satisfied, when she proposed to him, to submit it to my judgment, whether the handwriting was her's or not, sensible that no collusion could be suspected between us; she not having an excess of confidence in me, nor I too much esteem for her. Accordingly the papers were put into my hands, and a day fixed for the decision of this cause, which was to be determined at the house of the marchioness. I went thither in the morning, and was introduced into her closet, where she waited both for her accuser and her judge, in an undress that expressed great negligence.

I had already begun to question her, when Henry came in with Montbazon: I am not permitted to relate

the rest; for the king would not suffer any of those who came with him to be present at this conference: however, they heard us talk very loud, and the marchioness weep. The king went from her apartment into another, and desiring all who were there to withdraw, took me to one of the most distant windows to examine the papers with him more exactly. This was not done so calmly, but those who were without might hear us discourse with great heat; and that I went often backwards and forwards, between the lady's closet and the place where the king stood. The conclusion of this scene was, that the king went away entirely satisfied with his mistress.* As for Joinville, whatever part he had acted, it was happy for him that it was Henry with whom he had to do; and the more so, as he engaged, almost immediately afterwards, in another intrigue of the same nature with madam de Moret,† which I was not acquainted with.

* In the *Mémoires de Bassompierre*, Vol. I. p. 92, I find the following account of this intrigue: "A few days afterwards happened the difference between madam de Verneuil and the king, which had its origin from madam de Villars having shown the king some letters which madam de Verneuil had wrote to the prince of Joinville, and which he had given her. The affair was accommodated by the duke d'Eguillon's bringing to the king a clerk of Bigot, who confessed that he had forged those letters; and the prince of Joinville was banished." Our Memoirs mention this to have happened this year; but it was in the year 1603, upon the return of Henry IV from his journey to Metz.

† The Memoirs for the History of France give this account of it: "The prince of Joinville having paid his addresses to one of the king's favourites, who was one of those whom Tertullian calls *Publicarum libidinum victimæ*, she, to excuse herself, alleged the prince had given her a promise of marriage. He thereby incurred the king's displeasure, who commanded him either to banish himself, or marry the lady. At first, he put on the appearance of being willing to marry her, and to go on with what he had begun: but at last he declared, that he had never any such intention; and said aloud, That, the king only excepted, if any gentle-

The count of Sommerive* was likewise hardy enough to become the rival of his master, and to make the countess of Moret the object of his gallantries, with whom he began by a proposal of marriage; and it was believed, that he had given her a promise in writing: for to a young man transported with passion, the one costs as little as the other. The king, when he was informed of it, approved of the match, and employed la Borde, a gentleman whom he knew to be more faithfully devoted to him than any of those who resorted to the countess's house, to discover if they were sincere on both sides, and to take care to prevent the youth from transgressing the bounds of his duty. La Borde's report was not very favourable to the count of Sommerive, who, at first, had some thoughts of murdering this troublesome Argus; and meeting him one day as he was coming from church, he fell upon him so furiously, that la

“man, or any one of whatever quality, had given him such language, he
 “he would have set both his feet on his neck. The count de Lude hearing
 “of this, said it was the sentiment of a hangman. Madam de Guise, in
 “tears, came and threw herself at the king's feet, and, as if she were in
 “the extremest despair, begged of his majesty to kill her; to which the
 “king answered, I have never killed any ladies, and I do not know how to
 “go about it. Those,” adds he, “who were esteemed to be the most
 “knowing at court, gave out it was the king himself who had induced the
 “countess to do what she did.”

“I gave notice,” says Bassompierre in his *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 205, “to
 “the prince of Joinville, and madam de Moret, of the design the king had
 “to surprise them together. They were not found together; but the king
 “discovered enough to forbid Mon. de Chevreuse (the name the prince of
 “Joinville then bore,) the court; and would have done the same by her,
 “had she not been on the point of being brought to bed: but time made
 “up this difference.” Henry gave orders to take the prince of Joinville
 into custody; but he escaped out of the kingdom, and did not return till after
 the death of Henry IV, his family having never been able to prevail on
 the king to recall him. *Galanteries des Rois de France.*

* Charles-Emanuel de Lorraine, second son of the duke of Maienne.

Borde, to save his life, was obliged to have recourse to flight. The king commanded me to examine into this fact, which, in his fury, he called an assassination. The time Sommerive had chosen for it, and the disrespect it showed for the king, rendered him still more guilty.

However, it being necessary to observe some caution, though it were only in consideration of la Borde, (for the king was sensible, that Sommerive was a far more dangerous person to deal with than Joinville,) la Varenne came to me from his majesty, to consult upon proper measures for managing this affair, without wounding his own authority; and we agreed, that the best expedient was, to prevail upon the duke of Maïenne himself to do the king justice, with regard to the offence his son had committed against him: I was charged with this message, and the conduct of it left wholly to my judgment. I found the duke of Maïenne so ill with a fit of the gout, which was attended with a high fever, that there was no possibility of speaking to him, especially upon such a subject. The duke d'Eguillon,* Sommerive's eldest brother, told me, that this action of his brother was not more deeply resented by any person than by his own family; that it had been the cause of his father's illness; and wished himself dead, as well as this unworthy brother, rather than to become the reproach of their relations. He added, that the king himself knew but too well how Sommerive treated them all, though, for the honour of the family, they concealed his behaviour from the public: that this last offence gave them inconceivable affliction. And after intreating me to assist him with my advice, he declared that he would go himself, if his majesty required it, to receive his orders, and would ex-

* Henry de Lorraine, duke d'Eguillon, and afterwards of Maïenne.

ecute them, whatever they were, upon his own brother: and that, for himself, he would rather lose his life than fail in the oath he had taken, to obey his master with all the fidelity and zeal of a servant and subject.

To conceal from d'Eguillon that I had been commissioned by the king to come thither, I told him, that I would not advise him to go to his majesty, because I did not know whether he was yet informed of the affair; but that, in twenty-four hours, I would give him such advice as I thought most for his interest (for so long it required to send to Fontainebleau to know his majesty's intentions.) I therefore contented myself, at present, with representing to him the atrociousness of Sommerive's crime, and the fatal consequences that might attend it. He exclaimed against it himself, with a sincerity which I thought it my duty to represent to his majesty, telling him, at the same time, that he had only to pronounce what satisfaction he required, the family fearing nothing so much as the loss of his favour.

Henry sent me notice, by Villeroi, that he was satisfied with what d'Eguillon had said to me, although he was convinced that all this rage against Sommerive would not hinder them carrying it with a high hand in public, as they had already done upon other occasions of the same kind: he ordered me to make the whole house of Lorraine sensible how greatly they were indebted to his indulgence, in referring to them the chastisement of Sommerive; that he expected they would immediately oblige him to retire, though it were only to Soissons, as being unworthy to stay in a place where his majesty was; that d'Eguillon should come and tell him what resolution they had taken, in the mean while, till he should himself name the punishment; offer to be

security for Sommerive's appearance, and even to conduct him to the bastile, if such were the king's pleasure; or make him leave the kingdom, and not return till after the expiration of two or three years. Henry insinuated, that it was this last part he should take, although it required some consideration on account of Sommerive's intrigues with Spain. The king had been told, that this young nobleman had endeavoured to prevail upon the count of St. Paul to go with him to Holland, with an intention to enter into the service of the archdukes; that he had taken the advice of du Terrail, and, as soon as the fact was committed, had sent some of his servants to Flanders. It was neither to that country, nor to any other dependant upon the Spaniards, which his majesty chose he should retire to; but towards Nancy, from whence he might pass to the emperor's court, or into Hungary; that country being most agreeable to his majesty.

To this letter of Villeroy's was added a short note, addressed to me, by the king, and containing only these few words: "I must tell you, that the best of the whole race is worth but little: God grant I may be mistaken." However, he was not displeased with d'Eguillon's behaviour, when he waited on him at Fontainebleau: his majesty only thought that he showed some little affection in endeavouring to extenuate his brother's offence. The king told him, that it was his will Sommerive should retire to Lorraine, and not stir from thence without his permission. I was commissioned to notify this order to the duke of Maïenne, his majesty being willing, at the intreaties of d'Eguillon, to spare him the ungrateful task.

D'Eguillon did not make a proper application of the lessons the king gave him in relation to his brother: no

one was ignorant of the affection his majesty had for Balagny;* he had lately given a proof of it, by maintaining him in the possession of the *greffes* of Bourdeaux, of which the contractors endeavoured to deprive him. D'Eguillon had the imprudence to quarrel with him upon some affairs of mere gallantry, and the baseness, some time after, to attack him when he was almost alone, while himself was accompanied with a body of armed men. The prejudice Henry already entertained against this family increased the indignation he felt for this attempt. In the first emotions of his anger, he wrote to me, that being resolved to punish d'Eguillon for it, he earnestly intreated me to forget the friendship I had hitherto had for this family, since I ought to set a much higher value upon that of my king. This letter afforded me a proof of this prince's great knowledge of mankind: he predicted to me, that all the obligations I should confer on d'Eguillon would be forgot, if, through any change of my fortune, I should be incapable of adding to them: and this prediction has been fully accomplished.

However, I was then persuaded to the contrary, and listening only to what my friendship for the whole house of Lorraine suggested to me, the king's letter, which his courier, meeting me on my return from Sully, delivered to me at Montargis, did not hinder me from answering his majesty immediately, and that only to do the very thing he had forbid me, which was the soliciting a pardon for d'Eguillon, without deferring it till I went to court, which I proposed to do immediately afterwards. My letter was of some use to d'Eguillon, when he pre-

* Damien de Montluc, lord of Balagny, son of John prince of Cambray, and of Renée de Clermont de Bussy d'Amboise: he was, at that time, only 25 or 26 years old, and unmarried.

sented himself to his majesty, to clear himself of the charge. This is what the king himself wrote to me, May 22d: "Your letter came very seasonably; for he arrived this night, and talked to me in such a manner, that I was scarce able to restrain my anger. Certainly this youth grows very insolent." I did not, however, abandon his interest. When I went to Fontainebleau, I found the king's resentment so violent, that there was a necessity for all the perseverance the warmest friendship is capable of, to vanquish it. I obtained, at length, that this affair should be left to me, to make it up in the best manner I could. I surmounted, with the same steadiness of friendship, many other difficulties, which were not inferior to this; and believe that all was forgotten on both sides, congratulating myself upon my success, when I heard in what manner d'Eguillon talked of this good office in public, and the gratitude he expressed to me for it.

Yet this man, without faith and without humanity, dishonoured himself and me, a short time afterwards, by completing the crime for which I had so lately obtained his pardon for attempting, by causing Balagny to be assassinated. The letter his majesty wrote to me upon it, will give the reader the truest notion of this crime. "My friend, you have doubtless heard of the wicked action committed upon Balagny: I would not write you an account of it, till I had obtained all the informations; for, on such occasions, the parties are not to be believed. Things are worse than you can imagine: he has violated the promise he made to you, and irreparably wounded his honour, by the extreme cowardice and cruelty of falling upon a single man with numbers. I had rather a son of mine were dead,

“than that he should be guilty of such an action. The bearer will tell you the particulars. The relations of both have attempted to fight; but I have taken care to prevent it. Adieu. I love you sincerely, and with this truth I conclude.”

But Henry (for I felt too much horror at this indignity to dwell on it any longer) was himself in fact to blame, since it was through his easiness of temper, that the rage of duelling had spread through the court, the city, and over the whole kingdom;* and to such excess was it carried, that it gave me, and even his majesty himself, infinite fatigue and trouble, to compose differences, and to hinder, each day, the disputants from proceeding to the last extremities. Before the affair of Balagny happened, the baron de Courtaumer came to tell me, that he was busy in reconciling his two nephews, M. the prince of Conti, and the prince of Joinville. Montigny quarrelled, for no cause, with d’Epernon, whom I was ordered to pacify. “For you know,” said Henry in his letter, “that he will always be the master.” The forcibly carrying away a young lady occasioned a duel between the families of la Force and St. Germain. St. Germain, the son, who was the ravisher, being sent for by the chancellor, in the king’s name, left Paris, instead of obeying, and went to his father, which made his majesty apprehensive that he would divulge, amongst foreigners, some important orders which he could not be ignorant that he had given to la Force.

This easiness of temper in the king was the true cause of that licentiousness and sedition which had infected

* Leomenie computed, in 1607, how many French gentleman had been killed in duels, since Henry IV came to the crown. The number was found to be full 4000. *Mem. Hist. de Fr. ibid.*

the court and the kingdom, and which his majesty so deeply lamented: the gentry had taken it from the nobility, and the nobility from the princes of the blood. The count of Soissons publicly showed his discontent. The prince of Condé, by indiscreet sallies, some indeed only worthy of laughter, and others of consequence enough to give great cause of uneasiness to his majesty, almost exhausted his patience. It was believed that marriage would cure his impetuosity and wildness; and mademoiselle de Montmorency* was the wife the king chose for him. It was this marriage that completed Henry's domestic troubles, as we shall see in the following year.

The difficulties that arose, concerning the marriage of mademoiselle de Mercœur increased the king's dislike of the whole house of Lorraine: she had been contracted to M. de Vendome, in the year 1598, when the king took a journey to Brittany. The parties were now of an age to consummate the marriage; but the mother, and grandmother of the young lady, had taken care to inspire her with such an aversion for M. de Vendome, that she would not suffer him to speak to her. The prince of Condé, who was not then married, would have been a more agreeable match, in all their opinions; but, since that could not take place, the dutchess was unwilling to let her daughter's large estates go out of the family. The king could not help thinking, that the dukes of Guise and Maïenne contributed to support this lady in her obstinate resistance to his will. I often combated this opinion, and represented to his majesty, that, on this occasion, he did not do them justice, which in the end he had reason to be convinced of, by the little opposition

* Margaret Charlotte of Montmorency.

they made to his intentions, when they were declared to them by the marquis d'Oraison, whom they had sent to his majesty.

The readiest and the surest way for Henry to accomplish this marriage, was to have assumed his authority, and given them an absolute command to fulfil the contract: but he* had less inclination to take such measures on this occasion than on any other. It only remained then, either to endeavour, by gentleness and persuasion, to prevail upon the ladies, or to have recourse to the decision of the law, which must undoubtedly have been in his favour, were his majesty to be treated with the same impartiality as any private man: but this was to protract the business, by the delays and tricks of the courts of justice. It would take up a considerable time to bring up only the letters of attorney from Lorrain, without which the proceedings could not be begun: and it would be two months before the affair could be terminated, although his majesty should interpose his authority, to oblige them to dispense with the accustomed formalities in his favour. However, gentle methods were far more eligible, since not only the union of two persons, but that of several families were concerned in it. There still remained many resources for a young woman forced from her relations, and obliged to marry, in spite of herself, to regain her liberty, although all the ceremonies were performed that should seem to have de-

* Henry, in his anger, threatened the dutchess de Mercœur to make her pay two hundred thousand crowns for damages, besides the penalty of a hundred thousand for breach of covenant. The dutchess, on her part, caused the king to be told, that he might not only take the hundred thousand crowns, but all her estates besides, if he were entitled to them. Her daughter retired to a nunnery of Capuchins, with intent to take the veil. Mem. Hist. de Fr. *ibid.*

prived her of it, especially if she could not be prevented from privately receiving bad counsels. For these reasons, therefore, I advised his majesty to try gentle methods, in the long letter I sent him in answer to his.

For this purpose many conferences were held at the houses of the two dutchesses, at that of the dutchess of Guise, aunt to the young lady, and at the princess of Conti's, during which time M. de Vendome was kept at a distance, his majesty having sent him, under the conduct of la Vallée, into Brittany. As for me, I thought no person better qualified to manage this negociation than father Cotton: I advised the king to employ him; and he succeeded so well, that at the time when the king was most fully persuaded he should never terminate this affair, but by the ordinary course of law, and had already written to the first president on the subject, this father, on a sudden, gave him hopes that it would be concluded by other means. The art of directing consciences, in which he excelled, gained him immediately the first point, and not the least essential. They began to cease their invectives, which only nourished hatred and disgust. Father Cotton did not fail to go as often as he could to the king, to give him an account of the progress he had made; and his majesty, from time to time, sent him to the chancellor and me to take our advice, and was highly pleased with the service he did him upon this occasion.

The mother and the daughter were the first who were prevailed upon; but not without the dutchess's giving such free scope to her resentment against the king, her relations, and every other person, that Henry believed he should never find a favourable moment to obtain her consent, but exhorted me, if such a one ever offered, not to

let it escape. The grandmother, and some other confidants of the dutchess, as la Porte the confessor, continued a long time obstinate: but, at length, all were appeased, and the marriage was celebrated.* The king was not quite freed from his suspicion, that the Guises, and all the princes of the house of Lorrain, sought, in reality, to deceive him, under an appearance of the greatest respect and deference; for which reason, when the post of first president of the chamber of accounts in Provence became vacant by the death of Beauville, and the duke of Guise solicited it for one of his friends, as likewise the countess of Sault for one of her's, he denied them both. "They have both been supporters of the "league," said he; and this was all the reason he gave me for it, when he wrote to me to consult with the chancellor about filling up this place with one more fit for it.

Not all the arguments I used to the king, could prevent him from giving, if I may use the expression, a right to every one to disturb his quiet, by continually bringing him informations against the most illustrious persons in the kingdom, as well Catholics as Protestants. Sometimes he was told, that the duke of Bouillon, du Plessis, and other heads of the reformed religion, were levying troops; sometimes, that it was agreed upon between them, M. the prince, M. the count, and even all those that had been the greatest supporters of the league against them, to take possession of several towns. Another time, it was said, that the duke of Rohannais held assemblies in Anjou, which Pont-Courlai

* The 7th of July in the year following. "The nuptials," says the Mémoires de l'Hist. de France, "were splendid and magnificent: the king "shone all over with jewels of an inestimable value; he run at the ring, and "seldom failed of carrying off the prize."

writ also to me: but nothing so much alarmed his majesty as the advice he received from a gentleman of Poitou; for this province was always made the seat of rebellion. This man said, that he had been present at assemblies of a great number of gentlemen, who acted in the names of almost all the *grande*s of the kingdom, besides the Protestants, in which he was a witness, that they had fixed upon a day for seizing a great number of towns, which he named, and had delivered out money for the making provision of scaling ladders, petards, arms, and ammunition, necessary for the enterprise.

The king was at Fontainebleau without any train, and only with a design to make some parties for hunting, when this informer was presented to him: he sent him back to Paris, with orders to wait on Sillery and Villeroi, to whom he delivered such exact memorials, that the king was no longer in doubt of the truth of his report, and, full of apprehensions, returned instantly to Paris through Melun, and entered the city at the gate St. Antoine. He sent St. Michael immediately for me, having matters, he said, of the utmost consequence to communicate to me. My wife and children being then in the city with all the coaches belonging to me, I was obliged to wait till one was sent me by Phelipeaux.

I found the king shut up in the queen's little closet; with him were her majesty, the chancellor, and Villeroi, busy in examining those papers which had heated the lively imagination of Henry. "Well, monsieur Obstinacy," said he to me, as I entered, "here is the war begun." "So much the better, sire," said I; "for it can be only against the Spaniards." "No, no," answered he, "it is against much nearer neighbours, sup-

“ported by all your Huguenots.” “All the Huguenots!” I returned; “ah! sire, what makes you imagine so? I will answer for many, that they do not entertain the least notion of it, and I am ready to answer for almost all the rest, that they dare not.” “Did I not tell you, my dear,” said his majesty, turning to the queen, “that he would not believe this? according to him, no one dare give me the least offence, and it depends only upon myself to give law to all the world.” “It is true, sire,” I replied, “and so you may whenever you please.”

Villeroi and Sillery attempted to support his majesty's opinion, that this was a most dangerous conspiracy. I represented to them, that it was great weakness to suffer themselves to be intimidated thus by mere trifles: I took the paper out of their hands, and could not help smiling when I found, that, of this formidable body of rebels, only ten or a dozen poor inconsiderable gentlemen and soldiers were mentioned, whose persons I knew, being, in reality, in my government; and five or six villages, as la Haye in Touraine, St. Jean-d'Angely, la Rochepozai, St. Savin, and Chauvigny-le-Blanc in Berry. “*Pardieu*, sire,” resumed I with some emotion, “these gentlemen mean to jest both with your majesty and me, by making these idle reports of consequence enough to affect you with any apprehensions, and inducing you to take measures to prevent what will never happen. The whole mystery is this: one of your subjects has an inclination to get an hundred crowns from you.”

“Notwithstanding all you can say,” replied the king, “I am convinced that there is a necessity for my going thither, or else that you should set out in two days, and give proper orders there for keeping every thing

“quiet.” “If you would consent, sire,” replied I, after listening patiently to a long detail he made me of the artillery, ammunition, and other warlike stores necessary for this expedition, “to let me manage it my own way, I will engage to bring this affair to a conclusion, without much trouble or expense.” “*Pardieu!*” said Henry, “you are the most obstinate man I ever saw; well, what would you say?” “Sire,” answered I, “I only desire you will give me Moret the prévôt, and twenty archers, and I will bring you a good account of these rebels.” “You shall have it so,” said Henry, vanquished by my perseverance; “but if any accident should happen, you will have all the blame.” However, the king’s fears were wholly groundless. My whole army consisted of twenty horse, with which I seized all those persons who had been accused, very few of whom were punished, his majesty finding most of them innocent, and that the others were not worth troubling himself with.

II. The assembly of Protestants, which it was necessary should be held this year, for appointing the two deputies-general, seemed to the king to merit still more attention, on account of the present situation of affairs. He ordered me to assist at it for the third time: and that I might do so with the greater conveniency, the assembly was summoned to meet at Gergeau, of which I was governor, and where I could direct every thing from my estate of Sully, which extended to the gates of that city. I shall be silent as to the article of my instructions. On the 3d of October, when I wrote for the first time to Villeroi, the assembly had not yet taken any form, although the members had met some days before; for they still expected some of the provincial deputies. When I found, that, by one single word,

I had put all the disaffected to silence, I took upon myself to be answerable to his majesty, that nothing would be done in it contrary to his will; which, however, he could not be persuaded to believe. All the letters I received from him and Villeroi were filled with complaints of the Protestants. "Send back my courier immediately," said the king in one of his letters, "there are people at Gergeau, with whom there is no dealing: they have treated you like a Catholic; I knew they would do so: and four days ago I saw a letter from Saumur which prescribed the manner."

It is certain, that there was, at first, some tumult in the assembly, particularly on account of his majesty having sent two Catholic governors into the cities of Montendre and Tartas, which they alleged had been yielded to them by the king. They supported their demands by the tenor of the edicts, and complained that Caumont had been taken from them in the same manner. Chambaut, du Bourg, and du Ferrier, were sent, by the assembly, to me at Sully, with messages full of submission to his majesty, to whom they had likewise resolved to depute two or three of their body upon the same subject. As I knew his majesty would not receive this deputation favourably, I endeavoured to dissuade them from that design: I represented to them, that I had no commission from the king to treat upon this article; but that I would write about it to him. I excused myself from having any thing to do with regard to Moncenis, a place upon which they had the same pretensions as upon the two former, because it belonged to M. the count.

I wrote to Villeroi what the assembly had proposed, charging him to represent to the king, that, if he was willing this affair should not be protracted, it would be

necessary to satisfy such of their demands as were just, or promise, at least, to do so, when he should return an answer to them; to which his majesty consented. This article being dispatched, which was one of the eight proposed by the assembly, I told them, that, of those that remained, five were to be brought before the council, as falling under the cognisance of that tribunal; and that they ought now to settle the principal affair, which was the appointment of the two deputies. His majesty notified his intentions to them on this subject, which were conformable to what he had declared to them before, as has been seen when I treated of the general assembly held at Châtelleraut: and this affair was likewise concluded to the entire satisfaction of both parties, by means of a proposal I made to the king to appoint Villarnou to be deputy for the nobility, and Mirande, for those of the second order. The former would have been chosen the preceding year, if he had not been proposed in a manner contrary to the form prescribed by the king. He went immediately to receive his orders, bearing a letter from me to the king, who summed up to him, in a few words, the duties of his office, and seemed very well satisfied with his choice.

The assembly, after this, continued no longer than was necessary to receive the brevet of the deputies' acceptance, and all was over before the first of November. His majesty, in every letter he writ to me, recommended to me, in particular, to be speedy in settling this business; to return to him as soon as possible, and always concluded with his usual expressions of kindness. The last courier that I dispatched to him found him at the arsenal, from whence, as Villeroi informed me in his letter, he returned at seven in the evening,

making him write to me at eight, not being willing to do it himself for fear of detaining the courier too long.

When I returned, I gave his majesty a more exact account than I had done in my letters, of all that had passed at Gergeau, and of the pacific dispositions in which I had found a great number of the best and most considerable persons of the Protestant body. His majesty was then at Fontainebleau, where he staid as long this year as any of the former ones: he had returned thither the middle of May, after that short journey to Paris which I have mentioned, and staid there all June and July; in August he went back to Paris, from whence he went to St. Germain, and afterwards to Monceaux, where he staid fifteen days; and, passing through Fontainebleau, came to Paris the beginning of October, while I was still at Gergeau; in the middle of October he went again to Fontainebleau, where he staid all the remainder of that month, and part of November, and then returned to dispatch his affairs. I have already observed, that this manner of living was only fatiguing to himself, and a few of his principal ministers.

He was not this year afflicted with any dangerous distemper. In a letter he writ to me from Fontainebleau, dated June 2d, he says, "I have had a fever, which has lasted two days and a night, but it only proceeds from a cold, which, by the help of God, I hope will not have any bad consequences. I am resolved to take more care of my health than I have done hitherto: this you may depend upon, as also upon the assurance I gave you of my affection for you." Yet he still continued the fatigue of the chase. From St. Germain he writ to me, that he had taken a stag in an hour: that he went afterwards to bed, where he lay another hour,

and then went to walk in his gardens, and to visit his manufacturers. Henry, while this cold in his head continued, wet eight or ten handkerchiefs in a day: he had, at the same time, a defluxion in his ears and throat, which was very troublesome to him; and afterwards preparing himself, by purges, to drink the waters of Spa, he was seized with a looseness, from which he suffered violent pains for two days, and which left a weakness upon him for a considerable time afterwards. This was a disorder that prevailed not only over all that district, (from whence his majesty writ to me, that he had with him the good man Villeroy, and above a hundred gentlemen of his court, who were afflicted with it,) but likewise in Paris, and all the neighbouring parts.

Almost all the children of his majesty were sick during the month of May. In this letter to me, in which he sent me an account of it, his paternal tenderness made him notice the smallest circumstances relating to the state of their health, none of which, indeed, were indifferent to me. In his letter he sent me from Fontainebleau, dated May the 16th, he says, "I am in great affliction, having all my children ill here: my daughter de Verneuil has got the measles; my son, the dauphin, vomited twice yesterday; he has a slight fever, attended with a drowsiness, and a sore throat: from these symptoms, the physicians think he likewise will have the measles. Last night, my daughter began to have a little fever: my son d'Orleans has a continued one; but it is more violent one day than another." This prince's illness was most dangerous, and lasted longer than any of the others. "Judge," continued he, "whether, with all this, I must not suffer great uneasiness. I will every day give you an account of my chil-

“dren’s health.” Happily they all recovered. “Whatever it shall please God to do with them,” said this prince to me, “I will submit patiently to his will: all the dispensations of his providence are good.” He inquired, with his usual goodness, how my son did, who, he had been told, had the small pox. He chose Noisy for the place of his children’s residence during the summer, and would not suffer them to be removed to St. Germain till November, at which time he sent me orders, as usual, to have them carried thither, with madam de Montglat, in the coaches and litters of queen Margaret; ordering me to tell madam de Verneuil to send her’s thither likewise, the small-pox then raging at Paris.

The son of this lady, who was called the marquis de Verneuil,* was, by the king his father, designed for the church; and the bishopric of Metz becoming vacant, he had some thoughts of giving it him; but the procuring this prince to be nominated, the illegitimacy of his birth, and his youth, for he was yet but a child, were three obstacles to his advancement to this see. It was in the power of the chapter of Metz to remove the first, by admitting the young prince as a candidate; or, if that was too difficult to be granted, to appoint the cardinal of Guise either to be bishop or administrator; because, from his hands, it might afterwards easily pass into those of the young de Verneuil. This chapter having both a right to choose themselves a bishop, in case of

* Henry de Bourbon, marquis, or, according to others, duke of Verneuil, afterwards bishop of Metz. If Paul V showed himself so difficult on account of the bishopric of Metz, Innocent X, showed himself much more so: for he positively refused to give the purple to this prince. He enjoyed more than four hundred thousand livres a year in benefices, when he gave them all up in 1663, to marry Charlotte Segnier, widow of Maximilian Francis, third duke of Sully. He died in 1682.

a vacancy, by resignation, or death, and of giving the administration of the revenues of the bishopric to any person they pleased, there was no necessity for using many persuasions with them; for, as soon as they perceived that it would please the king to have his son appointed, he was admitted and chosen unanimously.

But it was the pope alone who could grant the necessary dispensation on the other two articles, the birth and age of the young prince. His majesty, to prevail upon him to grant this favour, sent the duke of Nevers to Rome.* Valerio, the courier from Rome, was received in a most obliging manner at Paris, and retained there till the end of March. The marchioness de Verneuil neglected nothing to secure the success of this affair. However, all that could be obtained from the pope, was a dispensation for the birth. He refused the second request, as being absolutely contrary to the canons and discipline of the church; but, by the force of intreaties and solicitations, they drew from him, at length, that kind of approbation, which, in the Roman style, is called *expectative*, and that the young prince might bear, at present, the title of bishop of Metz. Valerio brought the news to Fontainebleau the latter end of April, and, by the king's command, I acquainted madam de Verneuil with it immediately.

The little complaisance which Paul V showed his majesty, on this occasion, was well repaid by him, when, at that pontiff's request, the cardinals and prelates of France renewed their solicitations to Henry, that the decrees of the council of Trent might be published in the kingdom: the king, without suffering himself to be

* The Memoirs of those times take notice of the magnificent entry and reception of the duke at Rome.

moved by their repeated attempts on this head, replied, that since they could not get this council approved by Francis I, Henry II, and Charles IX, although they had not the same obligations to the Protestants as he had, nor had granted them such favourable edicts as he had done, they must not expect that he would ever give his consent to it. He showed them the mischief such a grant was capable of doing in the kingdom, and declared, that he had no inclination to establish the inquisition in France; and that he thought it very surprising, for he was aware of that objection, that such a strange clause should be made one of the conditions of his absolution. All therefore that they could obtain from his majesty was, that the mass should be permitted in Bearn.*

This year the Roman college lost the cardinals de Lorrain and Baronius. The duke of Florence, and the famous Scaliger, died also about the same time: and, in France, the chancellor de Bellievre, father Ange de Joyeuse, and Miron.†

* The exercise of the Catholic religion had been re-established at Bearn, ever since the time of the edict of Nantes. There is therefore a mistake here in these Memoirs; and, instead of the *mass*, it should be read *Jesuits*; those fathers being established there this year, by the king's edict of the 16th of February. They were obliged for this to the solicitations of the bishop of Olleron. Nic. Rigault, Book i. Merc. Fr. 1608, &c.

† Francis Miron, master of requests, superintendant of the government of the isle of France, president of the great council, provost of Paris, and lieutenant-civil within the provostship thereof, &c., died in the month of June, this year, extremely regretted on account of his probity, and other good qualities. His party esteemed him so much for the steadiness with which he had opposed the superintendant on occasion of the order of council which had been made the year before for the suppression of the annuities of the Hotel de Ville, and of the bold remonstrances he made to the king on that behalf, that they got together in a body, and came, in a seditious manner, to defend his house against the threats of the council. Perefixe, from whom I take this fact, agrees, that the inquiry into the case of the annuitants was in itself most just; and yet blames the authors of it: "Be-

Some new embellishments were made at Fontainebleau and Monceaux. The bridge Marchand* was

“cause,” says he, “the greatest part of those annuities having passed through several hands, or been divided, many families must be put to great trouble by it. Miron,” adds he, “earnestly requested the citizens to retire, and not to make him criminal; assuring them they had nothing to fear: that they had to do with a king as great as wise, as gentle as equitable; and who would not suffer himself to be influenced by the advice of evil counsellors.”

For my part, I do not so much admire this gentleman, (who, notwithstanding his probity, suffered himself to be so far transported with passion, as to make some odious comparisons. “Not indeed,” says the same writer, “with the king’s person, but with some of his council,”) as I do the king himself, who resisting the persuasion of those who would have prevailed on him to seize him by force, and severely punish his boldness, “graciously received,” continues M. de Perefixe, “the excuses and most humble submissions of Miron; and, besides, forbid the prosecution of the inquiry into the annuities, which had made so much noise.” I am surprised no notice is taken of any part of this transaction in these Memoirs.

But another action which does real honour to M. de Sully (taken out of the *Mémoires pour l’Hist. de Fr.*) was, his soliciting Henry IV on behalf of the president Miron, brother of the deceased, who had resigned the office of lieutenant-civil to him, and afterwards of his son. The king saying to him, “I am surprised you should desire my favour for persons whom you formerly so much hated.” “And, sire,” replied Sully, “I am more surprised to find you hate people you formerly so much loved, and who love you, and have done you good service.” The queen, at the recommendation of Conchini, procured this office for Nicholas Le-Geai, the king’s attorney of the Châtelet.

* “So called after the name of Charles le Marchand, captain of the arquebusiers and archers of Paris, who undertook, with the king’s permission, to build the said bridge at his own costs and expenses, on certain conditions, which were granted to him, and amongst others, that it should bear his name.” *Journal de l’Etoile*, *ibid*.

This bridge, which formerly was called Pont-aux-Colombes, (the Pigeon-bridge,) because pigeons were sold on it, had afterwards the name of Pont-aux-Meüniers, (the Millers-bridge,) because there was a mill under every arch. It had been broke down ever since the year 1596, by a flood, on the 22d of December, between five and six o’clock in the evening, crushing under its ruins upwards of five hundred persons, who were for the most part, as it was said, of the number of those who had enriched themselves at the massacre of St. Bartholomew; and it had, ever since,

built at Paris, in the place of that called the bridge aux Meüniers. I gave the king a design for la Place Dauphine, by which, leaving the fund to be managed by the undertaker for his own advantage, it might be finished in three years. It was offered to the first president, and to the parliament. I also drew a plan for the bridge of Rouen, which my son presented to his majesty, for I was then upon the spot. Henry thought nothing could be better contrived for the conveniency of the ground. The bridge of Mante was finished this year. In Bourbonnois I deposited several pieces of artillery, which procured me the thanks of that province by St. Géran.

These works of necessity, or of public utility, might have been carried much farther, if the king had been willing to follow the advice I gave him, to sacrifice some of his private expenses to such laudable undertakings. The money he lost at play only, would have answered those purposes. I was ordered to pay Edward Fernandez,* a Portuguese, at one time, thirty-four thousand pistoles, which he had lost to him. This order is dated August 27. He often sent me others for two or three thousand pistoles,† and many more for sums less continued unrepaired. It was begun this year, and finished the next. It took fire twelve years after, being of wood, and was burnt down, together with another bridge, called Pont-au-Change, which was rebuilt with stone in 1639; and the two bridges were united in one, which, at present, is called Pont-au-Change. See the authors of the Antiquities and Descriptions of Paris.

* This Edward Fernandez is taken notice of in the Memoirs of Bassompierre, as being a rich Portuguese banker, who lent money to the courtiers for play, on pledges, and at large interest.

† “I do not know,” says M. de Perefixe, “what answer to make to those who charge him with being sonder of cards and dice, than was becoming a great king; and that besides he played ill, being eager to win, timorous when large sums were depending, and out of temper when he

considerable. However, it must be confessed, that this passion for play never hindered him from agreeing to every proposal in which the public good was concerned.

A dreadful devastation was made by the Loire, in the month of October.* In my journey from d'Olivet to Orleans, I expected to have been involved in it. This

“lost.” It requires no answer, I should tell this writer; for it must be owned, that it is a blot in the life of this great prince. How can one justify a passion for play, when pushed to the degree it was by Henry IV? What can be more pernicious in the master of a whole nation? What example can be worse? What can have a stronger tendency to the subversion of order, and the corruption of manners?

We find, on this subject, in the Memoirs for the history of France, a story as pleasant as it is pleasantly told. “M. de Créquy, afterwards “duke of Lesdiguières and marshal of France, lost so much money, that “one day, coming from the king, in a manner out of his senses, he met “M. de Guise, who was going to the castle, to whom he said: ‘Friend, “friend, where are the guards placed to day?’ On which M. de Guise, “stepping back two or three paces, ‘Excuse me, sir,’ says he, ‘I am not “of this country;’ and immediately went to the king, who laughed heartily at the story.”

The marshal de Bassompierre says, that Pimentel, the foreigner mentioned in the beginning of this book, “won upwards of two hundred thousand crowns, which he carried off; and came back to France the following year, where he made another good harvest.” It is reported, that the stratagem he made use of to win so much, was to get into his hands all the dice which were in the shops at Paris, and substituting false dice, which he had got made, in the place of them. But what some people have said, of Henry IV being informed of the cheat, and countenancing it, with design to impoverish his courtiers, and thereby to make them more submissive to him, ought to be looked upon as a mere stroke of satire. The duke d'Epemon lost considerable sums, and all his jewels. The duke of Biron also lost, in one year, more than five hundred thousand crowns.

* This devastation lasted twenty-four hours, and came in an instant. Had not the banks broke down, the city of Tours must have been laid under water, and Blois ran a great risk. M. de Sully, who was then at Sully, with great difficulty saved himself: both he and his whole dutchy were in great danger. Mem. Hist. de Fr. ib.

According to Le Mercure François, this misfortune happened twice, in this year, in the Loire: once towards the end of winter, after a frost; the second time; in the beginning of summer, by the sudden melting of the

whole passage was one continued sea, in which the boats swam over the tops of the trees and houses the water had yet left standing. However, no accident happened to myself; but the boat which carried me stuck in its return, and fell in two pieces, but fortunately all the passengers saved themselves by swimming. The desolation was extreme, and the damage infinite. In the petitions of the injured towns and villages, not only a total discharge of the *taille* was demanded, but likewise a speedy and effectual succour, at least for their most urgent necessities, without which most part of the lands must remain untilled, and the houses be deserted. "God," said Henry, in his answer to a letter I writ to him upon this terrible accident, "has given me subjects, that I may preserve them as my children. Let them meet with tenderness and charity from my council. Alms are always highly acceptable to God; and in cases of public misery more especially so. It would lie heavy on my conscience, if I neglected to do every thing I can for their relief." I seconded, with all my power, the king's pious intentions.

snow on the mountains of Velai and Auvergne: it places none of those floods in the month of October, in which the author is mistaken. "The loss," says he, "of men, women, children, cattle, castles, mills, houses, and all sorts of goods, was inestimable. There was not a bridge on this river which has a course of more than five hundred leagues, which had not some of its arches broke down. The force of the water made breaches in all the banks. The low grounds were covered with it quite to the skirts of the hills; the lands, which are very fruitful there, were for a long time overflowed, there being no vent for the water to run off; and became quite barren, being covered with sand and stones, which the water had brought from Auvergne."

This year was called the year of the hard winter, that season being usually severe. "Henry IV said, his beard froze in bed with the queen by him." He had some frozen bread given him on the 23d of January, which he would not suffer to be thawed. Matth. Vol. II. book iii. p. 771.

In the same letter I obtained three little gratuities for different persons: the profits of a mill, at the gates of Paris, for one; the remainder of some trees, that had been cut down, for another; and the timber, which had served to repair the stone bridge at Mante, for the third.

The merit and learning of messieurs Fenouillet and d'Abeins, so well known throughout the whole kingdom, encouraged me to request, for the first, the reversion of the bishopric of Poitiers; and, for the second, the first bishopric which should become vacant, both which were promised me. I set out immediately after for Sully; but I had scarce left his majesty, when news was brought him of the death of the bishop of Montpellier, which he instantly sent to inform me of. I was of opinion, that I should make some alteration in the favour I had obtained of the king. I therefore writ to him, that Montpellier being full of Protestants, it seemed to me to require that a man as eloquent as the abbé Fenouillet should be made bishop of it; and that the mild and moderate disposition of the abbé d'Abeins rendered him absolutely fit for the bishopric of Poitiers, that province having many hot and violent spirits in it that required tempering. Henry read my letter to the courtiers about him, and, smiling, asked them whether the Catholics could have made a better disposition?*

* Perefice relates this fact something differently. "The bishopric of Poitiers becoming vacant, Rosny earnestly recommended one Fenouillet to the king who was esteemed a man of learning, and a good preacher. The king, notwithstanding this recommendation, gave it to the abbot of la Rocheposai, who also possessed many good qualities; and, besides, was the son of a father who had served equally well with his sword in the wars, and with his genius in embassies. Some time after, the bishopric of Montpellier became vacant, on which the king, of his own motion, sent for Fenouillet, and gave it to him; but on condition, that he should take it as an obligation to him alone." Ibid. p. 312.

Fervaques was so dangerously ill, that I advised his majesty to think of disposing of the very considerable posts he held in Normandy. But he soon destroyed our opinion of his danger, by writing, some days afterwards, that if a commission was sent him to hold the states of that province, he found himself able to preside at the assembly.

The treaty of 1564, between France and Lorrain, daily experienced some new difficulties relating to the limits of the country of Messin, which determined the king to send commissioners upon the spot. These were chosen by the chancellor and I, out of the council and elsewhere. Another work, no less useful, and much more considerable, was to order a report to be given in, upon exact surveys, of all the encroachments made by our neighbours in different parts of the frontiers, and especially upon the confines of Champaign, with Franche-Comté and Lorrain. Chatillon, the engineer, to whom I committed this task, executed it with the utmost exactness. He made it clear, that the king of Spain, and the duke of Lorrain, had unjustly appropriated to themselves a great number of fiefs, and even whole villages, as the village of Pierre-court, the town of Passeran, the lordship of Commercy, and many others, which it would be too tedious to enumerate here.*

This work was but a small part of what, by his majesty's orders, I had undertaken. The most exact plans of all the coasts and frontiers of France were to be drawn. The duke of Maïenne and the inhabitants of Antibes having put to sale the lands they had in the neighbourhood of that city, the king was desirous of

* They may be seen in the old *Memoirs of Sully*, Vol. V. p. 222.

purchasing them, which, when known, was sufficient to make them set such a price upon those lands as disgusted his majesty, who ordered them to be told that they might sell their land to whomsoever they pleased, but that he would put a governor into Antibes, who might probably make them repent of their injustice to himself.

III. Let us now come to the finances. There was a new regulation made, directed to the treasurers of the exchequer, of the private expenses of the posts, of the Swiss league, of the ordnance, of the extraordinary of the wars, and the extraordinary on this side the mountains, and the rest, which prescribed them a still more exact method for giving in their accounts, and placed them in the lowest dependence on their superintendant, without a precept from whom, they had scarcely the power of doing any thing. This regulation* was extended, likewise, even to the registers and the secretary of the council. I placed in the same subjection those who acted under me in every other business: I obliged Lichani, under whose direction the streets of Paris were paving, to come every Wednesday and Saturday noon, to give me an account of the payment and employment of his workmen.

By a circular letter sent to all the managers of the finances, I forbade them to place any longer, in their accounts, such articles as had been once rejected, or reduced by the council, leaving no means to recover them but that of petition; and that they might not plead want of rules, I sent them forms drawn up with clearness and exactness. They were obliged even to quote

* See this regulation in the old Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 194.

the date, and the signatures of the patents and edicts of council that were there mentioned. The regulation of the fees of the chamber of accounts, and another, concerning the money embezzled by the treasurers of France, and the receivers-general, were joined to the former. This new scheme brought the king, at present, a hundred thousand crowns profit, which would be doubled, when it came to be perfectly observed. The chamber of accounts did not part with its fees without a great deal of trouble, even when it was made to appear upon how false a supposition they had been established. I was obliged even to get a formal order from his majesty to obtain from them a delivery of the registers, for which I had occasion. I had a great deal of trouble with the procuror-general, and the presidents of that chamber, to make them verify an edict with respect to those who paid their rents, and for the extinction of forty-eight thousand livres of rents settled by composition.

I declared to the sovereign courts, and the office of finances of Languedoc, the resolution of the king upon several questions which they had sent to me, respecting rights of presence, feudal or seigneurial rights, supplement of the crown-lands, new purchases, the crown-lands of Navarre, rights of *traite* foraine et domaniale*, payments upon cloths, and particularly the *taille réelle*, upon which the council determined, unanimously, that the prince, the officers of the crown, and the king himself being obliged to pay it, for the lands which they possessed in that province, it must be paid by every one else, both cities and communities. I ordered Maussac to carry letters, concerning all this, to the parliament of

* Certain duties levied on goods exported and imported.

Toulouse, the treasurers of France, and the farmers of the gabelles. I directed the edict for the re-purchase of the registers to M. de Verdun, first president of that parliament, that he might see it registered, which he did without any difficulty or subterfuge. He wrote at the same time, that he had proceeded to make a compensation to the registers of the several courts; and assured me of the exact submission of the parliament to the king's will. To this he added some personal acknowledgments, and thanked me, among other things, for having sent such a commissioner as Colange, a good-natured man, and of engaging manners.

I do my best to suppress all particularities, which must naturally be tedious; and shall therefore say nothing of the letters which I wrote to the procuror-general of Dauphiné, to the sieur Marion, and to the treasurers of Burgundy upon the re-purchase of the domain, upon the late regulations, and upon every other subject.*

When I saw the year drawing to an end, I wrote to the king at Fontainebleau, that his presence was necessary for a general view of the finances: that I wanted his orders for a thousand things, such as his garrisons, his troops, the gallies, the officers of the dauphin's household, and of the children of France; that, by his absence, many other affairs were left unsettled, which, by those who had them in charge, were considered as merely of my invention, and indifferent to him. I shall honestly confess, that I have always endeavoured to join his majesty with his ministers in the management

* All the letters in the old Memoirs of Sully, of this year 1608, may be consulted on this subject. Vol. III.

of business, because, in reality, the best regulations come to nothing, unless it plainly appear that neglect will be punished by the displeasure of the prince.

The brevet of the taille had never been made in a manner so solemn as it was now for the year 1609: His majesty came on the 16th of August, and took his seat in the council, attended by several princes, dukes, peers, and officers of the crown, and an edict of the council was passed in his presence, by which it is said, that the king having examined the calculations of receipts, and expenses for the present year, and heard the reports of his council, and the superintendant of his finances, was very desirous to show his regard to the remonstrances which they had made him, by discharging his people from part of the taille; but that the debts contracted by his predecessors, and the disorder in which he found the finances, obliged him to increase instead of diminishing it: but that, however, he was contented to impose, for the next year, only the same sum as for the year past, with the augmentation of only twenty thousand seven hundred and fifty livres, ten sols, and seven deniers, which were to arise by an appropriation of the same sum, which the commissioners had always charged upon the parishes for some petty expenses of each province, which charge was from henceforth suppressed.

I shall give an account, with some satisfaction, of a memorial, which I presented to the king, concerning the taille, because, by the particularities and reflections contained in it, it may pass for an epitome of the history of the taille, in France.

It is certain, that no state whatever, subject to the government of many, or of one, can be without paying

taxes: for though we should suppose it content with the power which it now has, without endeavouring after more, it is however impossible, but that, from time to time, it must have outrages to revenge, and rebels to repress. Innumerable necessities, rising within itself, must be indispensably supplied by regular expenses, which however must be sometimes greater, sometimes less. These expenses, as well ordinary as extraordinary, were, in this kingdom, for a long time, raised upon the lands belonging to the king, or to the crown, by taxes, under the name of voluntary assistance, laid on and allotted by a general determination of all the orders of the kingdom, which are called the states. They were however almost nothing to the immense sums to which we have seen them rise since, because, in those times, they confined themselves to things barely necessary as well in as out of the kingdom. It is a remark, which I know not whether any man has made, that of all our kings of the third race, down to Charles VIII, not one appears to have engaged in distant conquests, or even to have made a formal declaration of war against any neighbouring prince.* With this spirit of moderation and frugality they never found themselves in want; but were able to discharge all expenses without mortgaging, or alienating their lands; and were therefore, in reality, notwithstanding that appearance of poverty, much richer than their successors in the midst of all their treasures, which they have obtained by boundless power, and absolute authority. This is no paradox. The prince who can do much, thinks he can

* * This is wrong; before Charles VIII France had carried on war with her neighbours, in Spain, Flanders. and in England.

do every thing, and undertakes every thing without perceiving a capital error in the computation of his strength, the impoverishment and ruin of his subjects, which is always aggravated as his desires increase, and at last reduces him to total weakness.

I say nothing of the troubles arising from endeavours to satiate an avarice in itself insatiable. The *taille*, which of all arbitrary imposts is indisputably the most pernicious as the most unjust, (for under that name are comprehended all capitations or assessments raised arbitrarily upon particular persons,) furnishes us with many striking examples of its bad consequences. How many times has it brought the royal authority into danger! Its first consequence was to deprive Childeric, the father of Clovis, of his throne; and some time afterwards it cost Chilperic his life; for he was assassinated by Bodillon, a French gentleman, in revenge of the ignominious treatment which he received from the prince, for having represented, with a little freedom of speech, the danger of an exorbitant tax which he was going to establish. A similar tax under Philip Augustus produced an insurrection of the nobility, which defeated the design. Others, who have succeeded better in this undertaking, have afterwards felt such violent remorse of conscience, that they have been forced to set themselves at ease by an absolution from the pope. St. Lewis left no injunction so forcible to his son, as that of raising no money upon his subjects against their will, and without their consent. Philip de Valois, who got rid of all such scruples, found the consequences of raising taxes, and saw his chief cities in arms against him. He assisted, before he was king, at an *assemblee des*

Notables, in the reign of Lewis surnamed Hutin, in which it was decreed, that every king should, when he was consecrated, take an oath to lay no new taxes upon his people without the authority of an assembly of the three estates. To this decree John I and Charles V submitted, and made modest demands of supplies, which were granted them. A tax assessed upon particular people, without an assembly of the states, or consent of the nation, was looked upon as not the least evil in the reign of Charles VI; a reign so full of unfortunate events, that it may be called the grave of the French laws, and the French morals. Under Charles VII, who had to drive the English out of his country, that necessity, which lessened the murmurs of the people, increased the evil. He had the address to change that tribute into a stated and settled payment; which, from being a personal assessment, had the name of *taille*. It was however established, in different provinces, in different forms: in some it was called a poll-tax, in others a tax upon estates, in others a mixed tax: it was fixed by Charles VII at one million eight hundred thousand livres. Let us now see what progress it has made in each of the succeeding reigns, down to our time.

Lewis XI augmented the *taille* to four millions seven hundred thousand livres. In the year 1498, at the time of the death of Charles VIII, it appears, that there were paid into the exchequer, when all expenses were deducted, four millions four hundred and sixty-one thousand six hundred and nineteen livres: in 1515, at the death of Lewis XII, four millions eight hundred and sixty-five thousand six hundred and seventeen livres. It made at once a prodigious advance under Francis I, who at his death left it raised to fourteen millions forty-

four thousand one hundred and fifteen livres. Henry II left it at no more than twelve millions ninety-eight thousand five hundred and sixty-three livres. It continued to shrink in the two following reigns, being in the time of Francis II, only eleven millions one hundred and four thousand nine hundred and seventy-one livres; and in that of Charles IX, but eight millions six hundred and thirty-eight thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight livres. The reign of Henry III favoured it much, if we take a view of it, not as it stood at the time when he was stripped of great part of his kingdom, as about the year of his death, but in 1581, for instance, when it brought in thirty-one millions six hundred and fifty-four thousand four hundred livres. Henry the Great, instead of suffering himself to be carried away by a bad example, was content, though he had immense debts to clear, and great charges to support, with receiving only sixteen millions clear money, half from the tailles, and half from the farms.

If, notwithstanding all this, Henry found means to put twenty millions into his coffers, as we shall find he did, he owed it to a frugality which was not known in those reigns, and which would probably have been looked on as scandalous. Foreigners could no longer meddle in the finances with impunity. This year the elector palatine wrote to me from Heidelberg, earnestly pressing me to procure him the reimbursement of some money, which, he said, he had lent to the king, and for which, in eight years, he had only drawn one single assignment. Carl-Paul, a counsellor, and gentleman in ordinary to this elector, was sent to me with great offers of service from his master, to prosecute this affair. The place I held often procured me compliments from

foreign princes. The duke of Savoy, when he sent the sieur Jacob to his majesty to congratulate him on the birth of his third son, sent me, at the same time, a very polite and obliging letter.

The dutchess of Lorrain's sickness brought the duke of Mantua into Lorrain, and from thence into France. This princess was so ill after her lying-in, that the physicians long despaired of her life: she had had but one child, which was a daughter, who was extremely well, and the mother at length recovered. Their majesties appeared to be greatly interested in her recovery, and neglected nothing to make the duke of Mantua's stay in France agreeable to him: they entertained him with a great many fine ballets, and still better repasts, for which the king paid a severe penance, by the great quantity of medicines he was obliged to take afterwards. The duke of Mantua did not repass the Alps till the middle of October, carrying with him a large sum of money, which he had won from the king at play. There were still four thousand pistoles due to him when he went away, which, at parting, he desired Henry to pay to his commissioner. His majesty sent me an order for it in a note which Edouard brought me.

IV. The negociations for a peace, or a long truce, were still continued in the Low Countries at the Hague, the place chosen for the conferences, but in such a manner, that it was long believed the mark, which had been thought so near, would be removed for ever; such difficulties arose through distrust, enmity, and a diversity of interest. A certain Spanish cordelier, who was employed very much in this affair by his Catholic majesty, passing through Paris, had the honour to be presented to the king, whom he endeavoured to persuade

that the peace would be soon concluded. Don Pedro* caused a report to be spread through all Paris, that the couriers, which were to carry the news of it to Spain, would speedily arrive. The king, and all those who were informed of the true state of things, by the dispatches sent from Jeannin, and the rest of his majesty's agents in the Low Countries, could not give credit to these reports; and with reason, since from that time, till the end of September, and October, and so on all the remaining part of the year, nothing was effected. It is not certain, that the obstacle proceeded from the Spaniards. It is the safest way, therefore, to leave this point doubtful. As for the archdukes, they laboured in earnest for the peace. His most Christian majesty, though contrary to his own interests, gave also the most pacific counsels: but things were brought to such a point, that this was the only part Henry thought he ought to take.

With respect to the prince of Orange, if he was not the sole enemy to the peace, he was, at least, the most declared one. These are the reasons and pretences made use of by him and his partisans, to prevent its

* Don Pedro was ambassador from Spain at the court of France: his presence there was far from being agreeable to Henry IV, since he was not unacquainted with that minister's cabals, to engage his council in the Spanish interest. See Vittorio Siri, *Mem. recond.* Vol. I. *Le Grain*, *Decade de Henry le Grand*, b. x. *l'Etoile*, and other historians. *Le Grain* relates the following repartee from Henry IV to Don Pedro, who saying to him, that he saw nobody so ill lodged at Fontainebleau as God, Henry made answer, "We Frenchmen lodge God in our hearts, not between four walls like you Spaniards; and yet I should doubt, if you were to lodge him in your hearts, as we do, that he would there be in a lodging of stone. But do not you see," said he, afterwards, smiling, "that my chapel is not yet finished; I do not intend to leave it in the condition it now is; there are few gentlemen in my kingdom, who have not a chapel in their houses; I do not intend mine shall want one."

taking place: That whatever desire Spain might appear to have, either for a peace or a long truce, yet she would never agree to it, with the condition of renouncing, formally and expressly, all sovereignty over the United Provinces; and yet, without this clause, these provinces could have no dependance upon treaties, since otherwise the Spaniards would still have a right to secure the harbours, forts, soldiers, and sailors; would draw to themselves all the trade, and open, a second time, the way to tyranny: that during the truce they would find means to lull all the best and wisest of the people into a lethargy, and put the disaffected and mercenary among them into motion; and the Catholic party in those provinces, having already a strong inclination for the Spanish dominion, would rise, declare themselves openly, and bring all, or the greatest part of the country into their measures; so that, on the expiration of the truce, Spain would have an opportunity to finish the war at one blow;* that the peace, if the treaty might be called so, had no security in a truce, which the king of Spain would break whenever his designs were ripe for execution. The princess of Orange wrote to me soon after in almost the same terms, except only, that, although she observed to me that the troops, the towns, and even whole provinces, were of her son-in-law's opinion, and faithfully devoted to the whole house of Nassau, yet she could not dissemble, that the contrary party was at least as strong as theirs.

Prince Maurice, who thought in the same manner, did not fail to use his endeavours to gain the king: in October he sent Lambert, the son, with a letter to his

* Spain in reality, renewed the war against the Flemings more vigorously than ever, in the year 1621, when the truce expired.

majesty, in which he told him, he might give absolute credit to whatever he should say to him in his name. Lambert highly extolled his master's design: he endeavoured to persuade the king, that things were brought to such a point, that the marquis Spinola, the president Richardot, and the Spanish commissioners, had been thanked and dismissed on the first of this month. All this so much the more surprised his majesty's counselors, who were present at this report of Lambert, as Berny, in the dispatches he had sent before, had acquainted the king, that the equipages of these Spanish deputies, and themselves likewise, were expected at Brussels the 4th of October. They would have persuaded his majesty, that now both his friends and his enemies would think themselves happy, to receive from him whatever conditions he should be pleased to impose upon them. This was what Villeroi wrote to me when he gave me a full account of this affair; sending me likewise to Gergeau, where I then was, a copy of the prince of Orange's letter. But the king was not so precipitate: Lambert's discourse appeared to him, from several circumstances, very doubtful. He saw no letter from the council of the States. That from the prince seemed full of reserve and artifice. Maurice himself had hitherto acted in a manner so little conformable to his professions, that there was sufficient reason for holding him suspected. When Lambert added, that Zealand would rather come under the dominion of the English, than consent to an agreement with Spain; and that the Dutch intreated his majesty would at least keep himself neutral, if he would not assist his allies as formerly; since, if they only remained possessed of these towns, they would still find employment for the Spaniards fifty years longer. Henry, in these words, saw

nothing but an extravagant boast, full of falsehood, or at least of most gross artifice; which appeared plainer when Lambert advanced a thousand other things, that, if true, Jeannin could not have been ignorant of, and of which he had not given his majesty any account. According to Lambert, Barnevelt and Aërsens were disgraced, and even in danger of being prosecuted; and in several towns of the States it had been deliberated in their councils, whether they should not take a resolution to submit themselves to the French sovereignty. Strange! how all this could be carried on so secretly, that in Flanders people should be wholly ignorant such designs were forming: but indeed the language of Lambert did not always agree with the letter he brought from the prince of Orange.

I am of opinion, that if his majesty had seen probability in any of these proposals, such, for example, as that of receiving the Dutch under his dominion, he would not have needed any spur to animate him to the undertaking; for he sometimes could not hinder himself from being a little offended with Jeannin, for not turning his views that way: but at length Henry took a wiser resolution, which was quietly to hear and see all that passed, without appearing either willing to retard, or solicitous to accomplish the peace; and suffer them to agree in whatever manner they pleased, without interposing in the affair. He ordered Jeannin to conduct himself according to this plan; and willing to have my advice, he sent me an exact account of every thing by Villeroi, and sent Lambert to me likewise. This agent talked to me in the same manner as he had done to his majesty; but I had, in the princess of Orange's letter alone, a good preservative against his arts. He

could find nothing to answer me, although probably he was not well pleased with my sincerity; nor with the epithets of base, and ungrateful, which I so freely bestowed on the States.

I answered Villeroi only by letters; and in these I did not disclose all my thoughts, but referred him to my return for a fuller explanation. It was to the king alone that I chose to declare my true sentiments of all that passed in Flanders. Although prince Maurice had not always exactly followed the plan of conduct he had laid down, and had even sometimes deviated from it plainly enough; yet it was neither strange nor surprising, that he should endeavour to support, even to the last extremity, a resolution in which his honour could not but be deeply interested: but as to Henry, it did not become a great general, and a powerful monarch, to intrude himself into affairs in which his interposition was not sought for; his dignity required that he should examine well what was proposed, and not act precipitately. With respect to the States, if it was with their concurrence that Maurice made these offers, it was done too late, and unseasonably: they had committed faults against his majesty, which they sought to repair; or, rather, they added to that ingratitude they had shown to the king, the shameful design of making him still their dupe: the offer of Zealand to England was a mere fable, and all the rest collusion, deceit, and artifice, to which it was not fit his majesty should answer any otherwise, than by continuing to interpose in the affairs of these provinces, just as much as was convenient for his interest and his glory.

It was partly on this account that Henry so earnestly wished for my return from Gergeau. In Flanders every

thing continued in a state of doubt and uncertainty, of which all the advices that came from thence partook. It happened that the original of the instructions given by the archdukes to the deputies, when they were sent to the Hague, fell into the hands of the prince of Orange either the paper had been forgot by the president Richardot,* or was stolen from him; or he intentionally suffered it to be seen, to please the Catholics, to whom those instructions were very favourable. Maurice exclaimed loudly against it, and often made use of it to animate his partisans; the conferences often languished, but were not interrupted; war was become impossible and consequently an agreement was absolutely necessary. This only was past a doubt, that whatever sincerity both parties might seem to profess, yet they sought carefully to prevent a true interpretation of their words, that they might not want a motive for renewing the war as soon as they could do it with any probability of success. If, therefore, France lost a favourable opportunity for humbling her rival, she had reason to expect that a much better would present itself, provided, that, till then, she took care to manage her strength. "I am still of opinion," said his majesty in a letter he wrote to me, "that in this affair God will strike a blow which men little expect, and which will blast all their designs: thus have I seen it happen during thirty years, and always to my advantage: may it still be so; and I intreat with my whole heart, that my faults and ingratitude may not hinder it."

By able politicians another observation was made still more important than the preceding; which was, that the

* John Richardot, president of the privy council in the Low Countries, was a good negociator: he had been concerned in the treaty of Vervins. He died the next year.

power of Spain was now beginning to decline. If they judged thus, it was not surely on account of the respect shown by the king of Spain and the archdukes for his majesty's agents, particularly Jeannin; the restrictions she kept with regard to the Dutch made it evident, that she still possessed the same arrogance and ambition; and that she either would not confess, or was herself ignorant of, her weakness: but when a state is seen to want strength and good conduct, when fortune and opportunities are let slip, its decline is then no longer a matter of mere conjecture, but may be pronounced absolutely certain.

Of this, however, we had other proofs from what passed upon the frontiers of Navarre and Bearn. The Spaniards having renewed their former quarrels concerning the boundaries of these two kingdoms, Henry, who was determined to give up nothing, writ to me to confer with the chancellor about this affair, and to send one of the privy-counsellors to confer about it with the Spanish ambassador, rather to clear himself of the consequences this quarrel might produce, than with any expectation that it would be composed by this method. His majesty, with the same view, writ to la Force,* to whom alone all the authority over that frontier was confided, to support his rights by the most speedy and efficacious means he could think of; and as it could not be expected that the inhabitants of that country could furnish him with great supplies, I received orders to reimburse to him all the expenses he had already been at, and to provide him with a sufficient fund for the future.

However, these precautions were all useless. Upon the first complaints made by la Force to the viceroy of

* James Nompar de Caumont, afterwards duke de la Force.

Arragon, he was promised a ratification of all that he should demand, and, contrary to the custom of the council of Madrid, without any delay. The kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were full of disaffected persons, who, upon any appearance of a rupture, were ready to join the enemy; and the council of Spain was not ignorant, that many of them had already offered their service to France. La Force, to whom they applied, gave his majesty notice of it; and added, that although he was convinced no great dependance could be placed on the restless and uncertain temper of these people, yet an opportunity now offered, which could not fail of giving success to their designs, provided only that it was immediately made use of: that the Spaniards, with all their art and skill, could not conceal their weak and exhausted condition, which no one was any longer ignorant of; and that the affairs of the government were in the utmost confusion. La Force had never before writ either to his majesty or me in terms like these; and he was more likely than any other person to know the true state of things, as well with regard to this as to another faction, which gave great apprehensions to the council of Madrid, though it was formed only by the wretched remains of a people almost wholly extirpated: I mean, the Moors.

To make this understood, it is necessary I should give a place here to a transaction which I could not introduce elsewhere without interrupting the narration. Henry, when only king of Navarre, was strongly persuaded in his own mind, that he should one day assist himself against Spain with these domestic enemies, less considerable indeed for their number, than the deep resentment they were believed to preserve against their oppressors. The Moors, on their side, learning by pub-

lic report that the Protestant party, which they knew to be very powerful in France, and always opposite to Spain, had a king of Navarre at their head, that is, a prince; from two powerful motives, the enemy of that crown, began again to solicit the interest of all those persons who could be useful to them in procuring his protection; and, among others, they applied to messieurs de St. Geniés, and d'Odou, promising them to excite an almost general insurrection in Spain, provided they were sure of being supported. All they demanded was a general, and some good officers, to whom they promised an absolute obedience. They offered to furnish all the money that was necessary for this enterprise, assuring them that they would have reason to be satisfied, both with the number of their soldiers, and their courage and resolution. An asylum in France, with the free enjoyment of their effects, and the liberty of their persons, were all the conditions annexed by them to this proposal. As to religion, they seemed disposed to a very easy composition, since they offered to embrace that which was professed in the kingdom: not the Roman Catholic religion, (for the tyranny of the inquisition had rendered this second servitude more insupportable than the first,) but the Protestant. They found that it would be no difficult matter to accommodate themselves to a form of worship unincumbered with images and ceremonies, and of which one God only, equally adored, and invoked by all, was almost the sole object.

St. Geniés, and d'Odou, did not fail to make a faithful report of all this to the king of Navarre, when he took that journey into Bearn and Foix which we have already mentioned. Henry ordered them to get exact information from the Moors what forces they could muster,

what arms they had occasion for, what money they could promise to contribute, and by what methods they proposed to begin an enterprise of such consequence. These two gentlemen at first employed only one person in this negotiation, who was an officer, called captain Danguin; but in proportion as their correspondencies increased, they employed twelve others: and the secret, though entrusted to so many persons, was so carefully kept, that the Spaniards had not the least suspicion of this conspiracy till they received notice of it from Nicholas l'Hote, that secretary of Villeroi whose history has been already related. They afterwards made a full discovery, and the affair appeared to be of so much the more importance, as it was proved that this party, at first very inconsiderable, was then joined by more than five hundred thousand persons. Two things had concurred to make it so formidable; first, the succours they had the address and leisure to procure from the Turks, the great enemies of Spain; and, secondly, the interest that many natural Spaniards took in the affair.

The council of Madrid, upon the first notice of this rebellion, having deliberated whether it would not be proper to clear the country of these Moors, by obliging them all to repass the sea, communicated this resolution to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom of Valentia, where it was received so ill, that a sedition was raised in several provinces, the nobility of which, keeping many of these Moors in slavery, could not consent to their banishment, without losing, at the same time, one-fourth part of their revenues. They therefore took up arms against those who came to signify to them the new order of the council of Spain. The viceroy thought to have appeased this first tumult, by sending the principal officer for the administration of justice to the mu-

lineers, whom the chancery called the regent. This regent was a timid old man, who, seeing himself suddenly surrounded with arms and a furious mob, fell dead in the midst of them.

In such a conjuncture the Spanish council could no longer dissemble their weakness. It was indeed but too palpable, by their tamely suffering, for a long time, a revolt in the midst of the kingdom, without using any efforts to quell it: the Moors, who had not expected to be so cautiously dealt with, became more bold; they renewed their solicitations to Henry, who could not now, as when he was king of Navarre only, evade their request by alleging that he was too weak, and had too many difficulties to encounter, to make any great efforts in their favour. The Moors, determined, at all events, to shake off the Spanish yoke, entreated him only to receive them into the number of his subjects, on whatever conditions he pleased: but the same considerations which hindered him from openly espousing the party of the United Provinces, on an occasion wherein he was more nearly interested, forbade him likewise from declaring himself the deliverer of a people who were more immediately the subjects of Spain, at a great distance, and who demanded a naval armament, for the centre of the revolt was in Valentia, Murcia, and Granada; without taking in many other reasons drawn from the character of this people, and without laying any stress upon the usual vicissitudes of war, which distance always conceals, or partly disguises. All this considered, his majesty certainly could not be blamed for not answering more favourably the desires of the Moorish nation. I leave the reader to judge, if, during this whole time, the council of Madrid, which was well informed of all that was projecting, could be very easy.

They had suffered, for five years, a malady, which they had but too great a certainty of, to take deep root. At length they thought proper to make an effort, and resumed their design of shipping off all the Moors that were in Spain, a design which was now believed more difficult to execute than before, as a report was spread, that the Turks were cruising near Majorca to prevent the blow. It was therefore necessary to fit out a fleet to oppose theirs. October came without any thing appearing either on one side or the other; and the whole year passed, during which no mention was made by the Spaniards, who knew that the Barbarians waited for them with a body of ten thousand foot, and five thousand horse, fully determined to defend themselves bravely. The battle, however, proved favourable to the Spaniards, and time furnished them with the means of totally ridding themselves of an enemy* who had no longer any resources. This, however, could not be done without the loss of five hundred thousand subjects to Spain;† for that was the number of persons she banish-

* The Moors, with one Barbarossa at their head, gave battle to the Spaniards, in which they were defeated, and were obliged to leave Spain the year after. See *le Merc. Franç.* and other historians.

† Others make them amount to seven or eight hundred thousand; a wound to Spain which has never yet been healed; but from whence no benefit accrued to us, though it was easy for us to have derived advantage from it: for though we had not given assistance to those unfortunate people, as cardinal Richelieu afterwards did to the Portuguese, on a similar occasion, we might, at least, have given them an asylum in France, had it been only in the uncultivated parts of Bourdeaux, where they in vain, as it is said, desired leave to settle. This false step of the government is judiciously pointed out by the author of *l'Essai politique sur le Commerce*. "To cultivate barren ground," says he on this subject, "is conquering a new country without prejudice to any one." It may be said, that the same reasons which made it expedient to drive the Moors out of Spain, were equally strong against their reception in France. But it would have been easy to take the advantage of the miserable condition they were in, to have imposed on them whatever terms might have been thought expedient.

ed out of her states, after depriving them of all their effects.

The emperor treated the city of Donawert, in Germany, with equal severity, though he had less right to do so. He seized it, although it was one of the imperial cities, deprived it of the greatest part of its privileges, and its inhabitants of the liberty of conscience. This violence excited many murmurs there, and was the cause of many disorders.

BOOK XXVI.

1609.

- I. Papers relating to the finances; a debate on this subject between the duke of Sully and the chancellor de Sillery. Sully entertains the king at the arsenal. Father Cotton indiscreetly reveals a secret, for which Henry blames Sully: an important conversation between them, upon the plots carried on by the court and by Spain, against the life of Henry, upon his passion for the princess of Condé, &c. Sully's advice to the king.—II. Scheme of a cabinet of state; to be useful for every part of the government. Different methods of raising money, when necessary. Regulations against luxury, and abuses in the law; and other pieces of this cabinet. Henry's description of his three ministers. Other particulars of the finances, and of the government. Edict against fraudulent bankrupts; another edict against duels.—III. Plots of the courtiers against Sully. Flight of the prince of Condé, and other particulars of that affair. Henry receives false informations against the Protestants. A discovery of a conspiracy formed at La Fléche against Henry's life.

I. **ON** the first day of the new year, I went, as usual, to present the king with some gold medals, of which the subject was, the glory he had acquired in reconciling the pope and the Venetians, the Spaniards and the Dutch, and some other princes of Europe. After a few moments of conversation upon indifferent matters, Henry took me aside to a window, to tell me that he desired I would compose for him four statements of accounts, in the manner of several others I had already given him: the first, of the equivalents gathered in the twelve generalities of the kingdom; the second, of all the claims, and duties, which make part of the royal revenues; the third, of the principal levies of the *taille*, called the ordinary levies, from the year 1599 to 1609,

including these two last years; the fourth, of the levies of the *taille*, called the great increase, or extraordinary increase, during the eleven last years. I want, said Henry, to show them to some persons who think they have great skill in the finances, although they know nothing of the matter; and to others, who admire their method, defective as it is.

There was no necessity for this prince to make any excuse to me for this demand; the pleasure it gave me to see him enter with me into all the particularities of the government, left me no inclination to examine into the motive of this attention. I perceived that he had, for some time, made a study of my manner of conducting affairs, as well general as particular; and that by asking me sometimes for a statement, sometimes for a memorial, one day for some instructions, the next for an explanation of them, all these pieces would soon compose a complete system of the finances, and other parts of the state. But I experienced no uneasiness on this account; for whether Henry did this for his own instruction, or that he had a design to form other statesmen upon my maxims, through a fear that I should not always continue faithful to him, or whether he had an intention to employ me in other affairs, either within or without the kingdom, which would not give me leisure for these, the manner in which he behaved to me gave me no reason to imagine that there was any thing in this procedure, but what was wise, good, and even advantageous for me.*

* If we give credit to the author of l'Hist. de la Mere et du Fils, we shall find Henry IV had other motives for this behaviour to the duke of Sully: "He was," says this author, "far from being pleased with the conduct of M. de Sully, and had a mind to take the management of the finances out of his hands, in order to put them under the direction of Arnaud. He had often told the queen he could no longer bear with his ill-

When he came to the arsenal, at the end of the month, I gave him those four statements, which I shall not transcribe here; but only content myself with observing, that the total of the first showed that the equivalents amounted to one hundred and fifty-one thousand and seventy-three livres, a sum greatly inferior to what many persons imagined, who had suggested to the king, that he ought to get a sol in the livre by all. In the second, notwithstanding the great application I had given to it, some terms had escaped me, which the king could not understand; but I promised him to make it complete within the year. The total of the third was one hundred and seven millions four hundred and forty-five thousand three hundred and fifty-three livres, sixteen sols, eleven deniers: that of the fourth, fifty-two millions one hundred and forty-four thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine livres, twelve sols, six deniers. Henry only looked at the titles of these papers then, and gave them to la Varenne, with orders to return them to him when he came again to the Louvre, and was in his library with Beringhen. I likewise gave him a list of all the particular accounts, which made part of the general account of the finances, or were inserted in that account.*

“humours. His discontent with the duke was fixed, and he was resolved “to strip him of his office; but the time for it was not yet proper,” &c. But the rest of this book will furnish us with such strong proofs of the great confidence Henry IV had in M. de Sully, that we may conclude this author was taken in the trap, which another writer of those times informs us this prince and his minister frequently laid for those who were too credulous, when, in order to do their business the better, they thought proper to assume all the external appearances of a real misunderstanding, which made the courtiers say of them, *Like master like man*.

* These accounts are set forth at large in the old Memoirs, in the III^d and following volumes.

As Henry went to Chantilly two days afterwards, I did not suppose he had examined, with any great degree of attention, this long list of accounts, which gave rise to a little debate. One day, when his majesty was discoursing with the chancellor, Villeroi, and me, and when the conversation had turned upon this subject, I happened to say, that, besides those accounts which I left to the care of my secretaries, there were above a hundred which I was obliged to write with my own hand, at the beginning of each year. The king seemed astonished, and Villeroi likewise. "I am persuaded," said Sillery in his soft gracious manner, "that there must be a great number; but I cannot conceive how there should be a hundred. I think I have a little knowledge of the matter." "You have done well, sir," replied I, "to say something; but you would have done still better to have said nothing, since you are talking of matters that you can be informed of by nobody but myself." There needed no more to prove which of us was in the right, than just to look into the list I had given the king, wherein those, and only those, were comprehended. Having a copy of it in a bag of papers, which one of my secretaries had brought with him, I ordered him to draw near: Sillery himself read the paper, by which his majesty was convinced I had said no more than the truth.

While the king was at Chantilly, he wrote me the following note, dated Wednesday, March 25: "My friend, I mount my horse, after dinner, to go to Lusarche, where I intend to lie this night. Tomorrow I shall come very early to Paris; and, as I intend to dine with you, provide for twelve persons, and let us have some fish. Adieu, my dear friend." He came accordingly, and I gave him a dinner to his

taste. After the cloths were taken away, I ordered cards and dice to be brought, and laid a purse of four thousand pistoles upon the table for his majesty, and another, with a like sum, to lend to those lords who accompanied him, and who not expecting to play, might not have money about them. Henry was pleased with this ceremony. "Come hither, master-general," said he to me, "and embrace me; for I love you, and I have reason to do so. I am so agreeably situated here," he added, "that I am resolved to sup and lie here. I have some reasons for not going to the Louvre to day, which you shall know after we have done play; and, in the mean time, order three coaches to be got ready to carry me an airing, after which you and I will have some discourse together: but do not admit any company while I am here, except those I shall send for. I expect to find no one here at my return." The king having passed the whole day entirely to his satisfaction, he desired that I would give him a dinner the next day likewise. He continued great part of the morning shut up with me in my closet discoursing upon many things which I am not at liberty to mention. His majesty read the accounts I had given him with great pleasure, and said to me aloud, as he went out of the closet, "You have given me papers with which I am highly pleased; but there are still many particulars which you must explain to me in writing: for I shall not remember all you have said."

All the company gathering about the king, he declared publicly his design of passing, in the same manner, two or three days each month at the arsenal. He commanded me to have a hall, a chamber, a wardrobe, and a closet, fitted up for him, without encroaching upon any of the apartments of my family; telling me,

that whenever he came, for the future, he would neither be attended by his own officers, nor bring any of his cooks along with him, but that I should treat him as now; adding, in a most obliging manner, that every way, he was of opinion, he could not be better than in my hands; but that as it was not just this confidence should bring an increase of expense upon me, he would give me a gratuity of six thousand crowns a year for that purpose only: and this he repeated again at dinner.

Before we sat down to table, the conversation, between the fifteen or twenty persons who were in the king's retinue, happening to turn upon those great men whose actions are celebrated in history, Henry asked me which of them I most wished he should resemble. It was not easy to answer this question by a single word, and the rather as Henry added, that I must not only have regard to their conduct and personal merit, but likewise to every thing that a man might reasonably wish for; such as the qualities of the body, health, and that concurrence of circumstances by which a man is pronounced happy. To decide this question, it was necessary to examine and compare those heroes one with another; and, to say the truth, I was not sorry that such an opportunity offered to cover with shame several persons in the company, for their absolute ignorance of things, which every man of birth and figure should have, at least, some slight knowledge of. The king comprehended my design, by the turn of my compliment to him, in my first reply to his question. "I find," said he, "that you are not going to appear a man of few words; but I am resolved to hear all you have to say, which will be full as pleasing, and more advantageous to me, than if I had gone, as I intended, to see them play at mall, till your dinner was ready."

Accordingly I began to give an exact representation of all those whom antiquity styles illustrious men, among whom I did not forget such of our monarchs as had been dignified with that title; as Clovis, Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, Philip Augustus, St. Lewis, Charles V, Charles VII, and Lewis XII. The quality of enemies of France did not seem to me a sufficient reason for excluding the great names of Edward III, and Charles V. I named none without making their characters known to the company, at least, in general, by traits, which, though slight, for the sake of brevity, yet, displayed their good and bad qualities, and the happy or unfortunate events of their reigns. "It is now your part, sire," said I, (after I had finished this enumeration, which had obliged me to continue speaking a long time,) "to declare which of these great kings you would choose to resemble, and to examine whether you would not lose by the comparison; you who, in many things, have certainly surpassed them all." "Before I decide this point," replied his majesty, "it is necessary I should consider more attentively what you have said, as well good as ill, concerning each of these princes; but your dinner, which is served, (for indeed we were informed that it was time to place ourselves at table,) will not afford us leisure for it now; therefore we must defer it till another time. However, I desire you will reduce your discourse to writing; after which I will tell you what I think of it, as well as of your last words, which you only added," said this prince with a gracious air, "to make your repast more agreeable."

While we were at table, some of the company, to show their reading, renewed the subject we had just been treating; and mentioned several circumstances in

history with great ostentation: but, at the same time, confounded persons and things in so ridiculous a manner, that the king could not help laughing at them, while he made me a compliment upon the strength of my memory. I suffered the king to entertain this advantageous opinion of me till we rose from table, when I told him, in private, the fortunate accident to which it was owing; for I happened, three days before, to meet with an extract of the lives of illustrious men, which I had made during the time that I employed myself in the study of history; and, that very day, had made it the subject of conversation with some of my friends, which had recalled all my former ideas, and furnished me with those circumstances I had related. This learned scene was succeeded by cards, dice, and pistoles. I went, in the mean time, into the hall, where I spared his majesty the fatigue of giving audience, he being employed more to his taste; for that afternoon he gained two thousand five hundred pistoles, and came out in very good humour to take an airing in the coaches I had ordered to be prepared for him, as he had done the evening before, after which he returned to the Louvre.

Five or six days after I had the honour to entertain and lodge the king at the arsenal, he was informed that some reports were spread in several provinces relating to things, which, he imagined, were only known to himself and me: for, indeed, he had imparted them to me with the utmost secrecy. For some days he suspected that I had been indiscreet in divulging these secrets, while I, though he often asked me who were those intimate friends I had in Bourbonnois and Berry, had not the least doubt of his suspicion. At length he called me to him one day: "Come hither, master-general," said

he to me, "and answer truly to the questions I am going to ask you." I promised faithfully to do so; but with this condition, that if his questions related to any thing, wherein, by answering, I might displease him, that he should command me absolutely to speak my sentiments freely, and promise not to be offended if I obeyed him. He replied, that his questions were not of that nature; and then opening his whole heart to me, I justified myself by oaths, which perfectly convincing him of my innocence, his vexation was succeeded by a surprise, which I felt in no less a degree than himself.

However, it was not long before I unravelled this mystery. A letter, written by father Cotton to father Ignatius, a Jesuit at Moulins, was brought to me in a packet that came from Bourges, and laid open the whole affair. With this letter, which filled me with a real joy, I went to wait upon the king, who was arrived at the Louvre with the queen, whom he had gone to meet as far as Anet. After some conversation upon Anet and Chantilly, I said to him, "Sire, the other day you ordered me to swear that I would tell you the truth: do not be offended if I intreat you, in my turn, to tell me whether you have never mentioned, to any other than me, those things you accuse me of having revealed: if you have not, certainly there are some persons about you who have a familiar spirit, and can dive into the most secret thoughts." The king smiled, and lightly tapped my cheek; then embracing me, "I am too desirous that you should be always sincere with me," said he, "to give you an example of insincerity. I confess then, that I have mentioned those affairs both to father Cotton and Beringhen; but I can answer for the last, that he has never revealed them." "Neither

“is it he, but the Jesuit,” said I; “and this letter,” giving it into his hands, “will prove it.” His majesty read it: here follows a transcription of it.

“Rev. Father, Pax Christi. I never wrote so seldom before, nor desired to write so often. Your reverence may, if you please, lay the fault upon my business, particularly at this time. M. de Citeaux will be satisfied with an abbey near his own, which is, at present, in the hands of a canon of the holy chapel, seventy years old; and, in return for the said abbey, will procure to be granted by a general chapter, which will be held after Whitsuntide, whatever we desire of Bellebranche. There is a disturbance at Orleans about the business of the college, by some secret practices; but God will direct all. The king has written to the mayor and aldermen, to Monsieur d’Orleans, the lieutenant-general, the prevot, to his attorney, and to de la Chatre. I join my letters to d’Escures’, who sets out to-morrow, and promises to bring every thing to a conclusion. The king has also given thirty thousand livres to La Fleche, upon the advice which I communicated to your reverence. His majesty goes to Chantilly on Tuesday, and the queen, four days afterwards, to Chartres; her majesty will go and meet him at Anet, and then come here and to Fontainebleau. That passion you know of still continues; notwithstanding which, the marriages of the prince and of the duke de Vendome will be celebrated after Easter. All is again upon a good footing with the man at the arsenal, whatever endeavours have been used to prevent it. The eldest son of monsieur de Crequy is to have the young de Verneuil; and the treaty of marriage between the marquis de Rosny and the eldest daughter

“ of that nobleman still goes forward: for the father will
“ not hear of breaking it off. Des Yveteaux is employ-
“ ed in the affair. The sieur Collin has demanded per-
“ mission to stay in the college du Mont till the middle
“ of August; but M. Savary will not agree to his stay-
“ ing longer than Easter. The edict against duels is
“ loudly called for. The preachers have done their du-
“ ty concerning it; but father Gontery disgusts the king
“ from time to time, though I am endeavouring to ward
“ off the blow. He says, that his sermons are seditious,
“ and that they will one day give rise to a schism in our
“ religion, or in the church. M. Bremont is resolved to
“ enter into our society. You will see his laudable in-
“ clination by the inclosed letter, with one from the
“ reverend father de la Tour, which I found upon my
“ table without knowing how it came there. M. de
“ Bourges told me this day, that father Sallian is very
“ well satisfied, and has lost nothing by his change. It
“ is given out, that father Changer has changed; a thing
“ that has been long dreaded. I am reconciled to the
“ count of Soissons, and upon better terms with him
“ than ever; but I have had neither victuals nor money
“ since January. The queen took me with her to Char-
“ tres, and places greater confidence in me than usual.
“ M. de la Varenne says, that he is very willing to serve
“ your brother; but not in the way you propose: for it
“ is impossible to introduce the use of keeping horses
“ for hire, without hurting the relays and posts; but he
“ offers to do any thing else for him that is in his pow-
“ er. The reverend father Raimond has been here, and
“ has brought the sum of four hundred livres for alms,
“ without the materials of Talan for some part of them,

“which M. le Grande promised him. Our brother Pa-
 “ran is now discharged from the exercise of this office;
 “for I have an answer from Rome, by which I have
 “been informed, that the union has been approved by
 “our holy father the pope, and the alms given by his
 “holiness solely upon my account, *quasi fuit ejus bene-*
 “*volentiae*. I have delayed revising and printing my
 “book till the summer, or till after autumn. The truce,
 “for nine years, in Flanders is almost determined. Ten
 “of our fathers have been taken coming from the Ba-
 “learian islands to Spain, by Simon Dansa, a Dutch
 “corsair, who has a wife at Marseilles. The king is
 “endeavouring to procure their freedom. Notwithstand-
 “ing some little sallies of ill humour, he favours and
 “loves the society. *Quod superest*, I am in great need
 “of spiritual succours; *oraque pro paupere*, who is your
 “Reverence’s most affectionate

“And most humble servant,

“Paris, March 18, 1609.”

“PETER COTTON.”

P. S. “The marchioness de Mesnelay is resolved to
 “take the veil, notwithstanding all the intreaties of her
 “friends to the contrary. M. Avias, rector of the chief
 “church, lies at the point of death: his distemper is a
 “spotted fever: he is a good priest, a faithful friend, and
 “is going to his God.”

Henry read this letter twice from beginning to end;
 and although he concealed from me great part of his
 thoughts; yet I read in his countenance the uneasiness
 it gave him. “I must confess,” said he to me, “that
 “there is more prudence and fidelity in your actions, and
 “more truth and sincerity in your words, obstinate Hu-

“guenot as you are, than in many Catholics, and even “ecclesiastics, who make profession of great piety and “regularity of conduct.” Upon the approach of the count of Soissons, he left me to go to this prince, to whom, I believe, he related all, and even showed him the letter, in which he had a place, as well as others. I was extremely glad that I had kept a copy of this letter; for his majesty would never return me the original.

Father Cotton was very uneasy at the accident which had happened to his letter; but he comforted himself a little, when he was told, that I had neither shown it, nor mentioned the contents to any one but the king. He thought he owed me some acknowledgment for this moderation; and likewise, that some trifling justification was necessary. A letter I received from him, at his return from a journey he had taken into one of the provinces, was calculated to serve both these purposes. His letter was dated from Fontainebleau, where the court then was, and sent to me at Paris. He took occasion to praise the goodness of my heart, and the sweetness of my temper; since all the endeavours that had been used to give me a bad impression of him, had not, he said, been able to make any alteration in my kindness toward him. He acknowledged, that a man, less generous than myself, would have made this letter a pretence for preserving some resentment against him. He did not say why; for, doubtless, in his opinion, the terms in which he had expressed himself concerning me were not a sufficient cause for the anger of a generous man: nor, indeed, would I allow myself to be offended by them. Father Cotton must certainly understand his own meaning better than any other person; and

if he was conscious of having intended any injury to *the man at the arsenal*, he would not have had the confidence to intreat him, as he did, in this letter, to remember the building of the Jesuits' church, and the apartments destined for their classes at Poitiers, by verifying the accounts in which such expenses as these were comprehended. Here he again introduced an eulogium upon my charity, followed by an ardent prayer, that God would finish his work by inspiring me with right sentiments of the good religion.*

Not long after this affair, I plainly perceived, that some new, and more considerable cause of uneasiness had been given the king; for all his endeavours to dissipate his disquiet served only to discover, and probably

* From what follows, as extracted out of the History of France, it will appear that M. de Sully did not so readily forgive father Cotton: "Towards the end of this year, the Jesuits, having obtained a gift from the king of a hundred thousand francs, to finish the building of their chapel at La-Flèche, came to M. de Sully for payment of it. Father Cotton told him, with his usual smoothness, that his majesty had made the society a small present of a hundred thousand livres for the chapel of La-Flèche. 'How,' says the duke of Sully, 'do you call a hundred thousand livres a small present for you? The king gives you too much; but you will get nothing of me.' Father Cotton desired to know the reason of this refusal. 'I do not think myself obliged,' answered the duke, 'nor will I give any to you; but I shall give my reasons for it to the king.' Father Cotton complained of this to the king, who, to satisfy him, publicly chid the duke for it; and told him he would have his commands obeyed. M. de Sully, nevertheless, did not do what the king had ordered, in regard to the Jesuits' chapel at La-Flèche." The same author observes, in another place, that it was very well known, at that time, that when the king and his minister thus appeared of opposite sentiments in public, it had often been privately concerted between them. What gives one reason to believe this had been the case on the present occasion, is, "That his majesty," as this writer adds, "at this very time gave the duke thirty thousand crowns for a new-year's gift, instead of twenty thousand, which he used to give him before; with which the Jesuits were but ill satisfied." Anno 1609.

to increase it. He staid eight whole days out of Paris, indulging his melancholy, in places where it could not be observed, as at Livry, and another house belonging to Montbazon. When he returned, he passed most of his days in hunting, doubtless, that he might be longer and more frequently alone. This, however, was not the true remedy for his disease. He came, at length, to the arsenal to seek some comfort in disclosing his thoughts to me. He came up directly to my closet, without permitting any one to inform me of his arrival, and tapped at my door himself. I opened it, expecting nothing less than such a visit, and was yet in my morning dress, with my night-gown and cap on. He bid me good morning; asked me what I was doing; then, ordering all that were present to withdraw, he came into the closet with me, and shut the door; while I, with a fixed attention, beheld his unquiet motions, now seating himself, now rising, and walking hastily about the room, all signs of the agitation of his mind, as well as the vivacity with which he talked for more than two hours that we continued alone. I shall have no reason for disguising the subject of this agitation, or concealing our discourse; which might, likewise, be easily overheard by those without. His majesty thought they had all left the little hall, and were gone to walk either in the great one, the courts, or the gardens: but some of them staid at the door of the closet, excited by their curiosity to listen; for the melancholy of this prince had been observed by every one. Those, therefore, who stood at the door might hear almost every word that passed.

At first, the king talked only of news relating to the emperor, some princes of Germany, the archdukes, and

the president Richardot; after which, confessing that there was something else, which lay nearer to his heart, he began a long discourse, during which I hardly did any thing else but listen to him. As his majesty believed that I, as well as the whole court, supposed the new quarrels, between him and the queen, were occasioned by the passion it was publicly said he had conceived for mademoiselle de Montmorency, a few days since married to the prince of Condé, it was with this article he began, which had always given me infinite uneasiness.

When I first perceived this growing inclination in Henry, I foresaw much greater inconveniencies from it than from any of his former attachments, on account of the birth and relations of the young lady, and I used my utmost endeavours to prevent the progress of it; endeavours which, though absolutely fruitless, I renewed again, when the king proposed to me his design of marrying her to the prince; for I had no reason to expect that Henry, upon this occasion, would exert that generous self-denial which some lovers have shown themselves capable of when they have taken this method to impose upon themselves the necessity of renouncing the object of their passion. Indeed it was the very contrary which I apprehended; and this belief offering nothing to my view but deep resentment, rage, and exclamation, from the injured prince, the relations of the princess, and the queen, I therefore neglected nothing which I thought could dissuade him from taking this resolution. I intreated, I remonstrated, I threw myself at the feet of Henry: I not only importuned; I fatigued,

I persecuted him; but all in vain: the fatal marriage was resolved on.*

These circumstances the king himself recalled to my remembrance, to convince me, he said, that, although I had foretold pretty justly the effects which love and jealousy might produce, yet I had not foreseen all that the malignity of his enemies was capable of suggesting to increase those fatal effects. This prince, part of whose character it was to pay an inviolable regard to truth, though he exposed his own failings by it, would not pretend to deny that there was some foundation for the public opinion and discourse. And, indeed, the passionate manner in which he talked of the high birth, the wit, and beauty of mademoiselle de Montmorency, was sufficient to betray his sentiments; but it was not to those mean and insolent Italians, such as Couchini, Vinti, Guidi, Joannini, that he was accountable for his actions, who justly deserved to be punished for daring to exaggerate what little faults there might be in his conduct, in order to enrage the queen, and force her to take violent resolutions, which might give some colour for their pernicious designs. It was these designs, which Henry was informed of from all parts, which filled him with apprehensions and disquiet, and hardly left him one moment of tranquillity. He had mentioned something of them in his letters to me, while he had yet only mere suspicions of their tendency: but these suspicions were changed into an absolute certainty, by the letters that la Varenne and Zamet had communicated to him; by what he had been told by the younger Zamet at his

* It was celebrated at Chantilly without any pomp. The marchioness de Verneuil said, "The king had made this match to sink the heart of the prince of Condé, and to raise his head." Mem. Hist. de Fr. anno 1609.

return from Italy and Spain; and, lastly, by the informations he had received from Vaucelas, his ambassador at Madrid. We shall soon see that my brother-in-law was not a suspected witness.

His instructions,* when he was sent ambassador to Spain, were such as rather showed an intention to keep open the difference between France and the house of Austria, than to come to an accommodation with it. He was a witness of the intrigues that the queen's agents carried on at Madrid, which they did in a manner so public and unrestrained, that he could not imagine it was unknown to the king, or even without his orders that they acted. These proceedings at first surprised, and afterwards mortified him to the last degree; for, believing that the council of France had absolutely changed its system, without acquainting him with the new resolutions they had taken, it must necessarily be, that his majesty had withdrawn from him his usual confidence, leaving him only the empty title of ambassador, while he entrusted to some other persons his important secrets, and the management of his most essential affairs. Full of this thought, he supposed, that, if the king seemed, in appearance, not to have changed his opinion of him, or altered his behaviour, it was through his respect and regard for me, that he might spare me the uneasiness of knowing he despised my brother-in-law, who would not have failed to express his uneasiness to me, if he had not endeavoured to free him from such an opinion.

Possessed with this belief, Vaucelas determined to insinuate in two words to la Varenne, and through him

* The titles given in these instructions to the count de Vaucelas, are, counsellor of state, &c. camp-master of the regiment and companies of infantry of Piedmont. Vol. 8955 MSS. Royaux.

to the king, that he had reason to fear he had lost his majesty's favour; but in his letter to his brother-in-law, which was much longer, he opened his heart freely, and intreated him to discover the cause of his disgrace, and to represent to his majesty, but with all possible respect, that it was unjust, and in some degree injurious to his ambassador, to employ one of a foreign prince preferably to him: it was the ambassador from the duke of Florence whom he meant; and, indeed, he treated about these affairs at Madrid, either without the knowledge, or with the consent, of the Spanish council, with so much authority, that it is not surprising Vaucelas should be deceived. He, therefore, intreated his majesty, by his brother-in-law, to restore him to his good opinion and confidence; and to believe, that no consideration of friendship or alliance should ever prevail upon him to disclose the secrets of his master to me, which was what I had myself recommended to him to observe with inviolable fidelity.

This letter gave the king a clear knowledge of those things, of which he had hitherto had but confused notions, and doubtful conjectures. His surprise was extreme; and, indeed, who could have imagined, that one half of the council and court should dare openly to cross designs, which the king had avowed, without being apprehensive either of his resentment, or the infamy which, on any other occasion, must have attended such proceedings? Certainly this was a circumstance very uncommon in politics, and very different from all its maxims. They formed a party by methods which, in any other case, tended to destroy it; to obtain their end, they pretended they had already obtained it; and secrecy was what they had least concern about: this,

however, is to be understood only of their behaviour and the appearances they gave to things, and not of their designs, and the real methods they took to carry them on; for, after the king had returned Vaucelas such an answer as was proper to remove his suspicions, he could not, with all his industry, discover the bottom of this mystery, nor many particular circumstances which he endeavoured to find out. All he knew was, that, by these intrigues, it was designed to blast his majesty's designs against the house of Austria, by bringing him, either willingly or by force, into an union with Spain: that the Florentine ambassador corresponded with certain persons of the queen's household, whom he named, upon this subject; and with others of higher rank, whom his respect forbade him to mention: the rest he was wholly ignorant of.

Part of these curious circumstances which Henry now told me, I knew not before: this prince added, that he did not doubt but those persons, whom his ambassador would not name, were the queen and Villeroi. All the conversation they had with him tended only to this end; and the last advices he had received, relating to the double marriages, could have their rise only from them, since the persons employed in negotiating these alliances had, it was said, gone so far with the council of Madrid, as to declare, that they had the means in their power of obliging the king to consent to them, even with the clause that Spain, by giving the infanta to the dauphin, should reserve to itself all the rights that this marriage might afterwards invest her with.* This

* One is surprised, after this, to find Siri, *Mem. recond.* Vol. I. p. 187, advance, that Henry IV wished for nothing so much as the marriage of the dauphin with the infanta of Spain. Nothing further is necessary to prove this stranger took his information of the transactions of the council of

it was that astonished, and even terrified Henry. He might have been able to find a meaning in such strong and positive affirmations, if his designs against the house of Austria had been as little known, and as undetermined, as they were three or four years ago; but that they should talk in this manner in a court where they could not be ignorant that he had already taken a quite contrary resolution, and that nothing would ever make him alter it while he lived; this it was that gave him, in spite of himself, the most dreadful apprehensions.

It is certain that all Europe knew he was endeavouring to ally himself to the duke of Savoy, by marrying the dauphin to the heiress of Lorraine, that he might one day unite this state with France; and that it was partly to support this claim, that he attached to his interest, by so many acts of kindness and munificence, the German princes, who could assist him in this enterprise against all those who might attempt to thwart it. It was known likewise, that he intended to marry his second son to mademoiselle de Montpensier,* and that they were already contracted; to give his eldest daughter to the prince of Wales, whom, upon my report, he preferred to all the princes of Europe; and, lastly, to bring about a marriage between his third son and the princess of Mantua, grand-daughter to the duke of Savoy, to give him a reason or pretence for a footing in Italy. I believe it will be easily granted, that his majesty, by possessing Mantua and Montferrat, with a free entrance into these two little states, and by being assured of the

France, at that time, from hearsay only. I also think him still more blamable for that partiality he discovers, almost every where, against the person and politics of this prince.

* Mary of Bourbon, daughter and sole heiress of Henry duke of Montpensier, who died the year before.

duke of Savoy, lately become possessor of the Milanese, and having a firm dependance upon the Venetians, our inseparable allies, nothing could have hindered him from giving law to all Italy, without, as this prince said, incurring the guilt of detaining unjustly the possessions of another.

Henry took so much pleasure in talking at length of his political schemes, that he forgot he was speaking to a man who knew them all as well as himself: but he returned again to the Spanish cabal, and to his own apprehensions, which arose from their acting as if they were assured he had but a very short time to live. Whatever might be the foundation of this suspicion, it was strengthened and increased, when he reflected, that innumerable prognostics were every where spread amongst the people, which fixed his death in the fifty-eight year of his age, a prediction which was given out to be a divine inspiration, because it was zealously supported by a certain nun, then in great veneration. Pasithea, for that was the name of this devotee, had been some time in France: and when she left it, continued to correspond, by letters, with the queen. And it was this nun whom the faction made use of, to persuade that princess to be crowned with all the magnificence and all the ceremonies necessary to preserve to her the authority which, they said, she would have occasion for after the death of the king, which was not far off. They likewise talked publicly of bringing back this enthusiast.

This design, and these discourses and presages, were continually in Henry's thoughts, kept his fears and suspicions always awake, and filled him with melancholy and dismay. "I do not desire this," said he to me, speaking of the coronation: and here I shall relate his own words, which are but too remarkable: "Neither,"

continued he, “ can I endure, that this Pasithea should
“ return again to France. My heart tells me, that
“ some disaster will happen to me, or that the govern-
“ ment will be thrown into disorder, if my wife obsti-
“ nately insist upon her coronation, which, I am told,
“ the Conchinis advise her to, and likewise continue her
“ design of bringing back Pasithea. It is certain we
“ shall quarrel on both these accounts; and if I discover
“ more concerning her designs in Spain, I shall be pro-
“ voked to the last degree against her.” I know not whe-
ther this prince was mistaken in his opinion of the
queen his wife; but, I confess, I was struck with the
reflection he afterwards made, that this princess did not
proceed to such extremities with him on account of
mademoiselle de Montmorency, and other ladies, whom
he had been fond of, from any motive of jealousy; but
because her wicked counsellors persuaded her, that she
had occasion for a pretence for being upon ill terms
with the king, or, at least, to appear so: and gave the
public this excuse for want of a better: in short, that
myself, and every one else, had attributed to jealousy
what was, in reality, the effects of a most refined malice.
I make here very shocking discoveries, if it be true,
that the queen’s confidants made use of this damnable
artifice, to conceal and carry on designs too black and
horrible to name.

But to convince me that I had no reason to doubt it,
Henry reminded me, that upon so slight a foundation as
that of speaking oftener than usual to the dutchess of
Nevers, and seeming pleased with her conversation, that
lady was ranked among the number of his mistresses the
preceding year, and mademoiselle of Montmorency in
this, that the opinion of the court and the public, con-
cerning his estrangement from the queen, might be still

kept up, which it was necessary to do, at any price whatever: and from thence he concluded, that all his endeavours to put a stop to these reports would be fruitless; and that, if he should even resolve to see the princess of Condé no more, yet that would not silence the malicious reports of people who had such strong reasons for preventing all accommodation between him and his wife. He declared, that he would never attempt to obtain any favours of the princess of Condé, to the prejudice of her honour; that, if he could not subdue his passion, he would, at least, restrain its effects, and respect the sacred tie, which he had only formed to impose silence on his own wishes. He said this* with great seeming sincerity, and I should absolutely have relied upon this assurance, if I had not known how easy it was for a heart, tender and passionate as his, to be deceived by itself.

The king continued still to talk of the queen's counsellors, and, among others, of Conchini and his wife. He told me several circumstances concerning these foreigners, after which I could no longer look upon them

* The marshal de Bassompierre, to whom mademoiselle de Montmorency was offered in marriage, amongst other discourses on this subject, relates the following from Henry IV to him: "He answered me, with a deep sigh, 'Bassompierre, I will speak to thee as a friend. I am not only in love, but madly, desperately, in love with mademoiselle de Montmorency. If thou shouldst marry her, I should hate thee: should she love me, thou wouldst hate me. It will be best to prevent the possibility of this becoming the cause of a breach of our friendship; for I love thee with great affection, and by inclination. I am resolved to marry her to my nephew, the prince of Condé, and to have her in my family: she shall be the comfort and entertainment of my old age, which is coming on. I will give my nephew, who loves hunting a thousand times better than the ladies, a hundred thousand livres a year to amuse himself with. I shall desire no other favour of her but her affection, without pretending to any thing further.'" Vol. I. p. 22. But in the end, this passion, as M. de Sully had foreseen, hurried Henry far beyond the bounds he had prescribed himself.

but as monsters: he said, that they hindered the queen from eating of any thing that he sent her, and persuaded her to make a kitchen of their apartment. But why did his majesty inveigh thus alternately against these Italians and the queen, and do no more? I agreed with him, that the former deserved the severest punishments that could be inflicted; and that it was, indeed, very surprising, that this princess should make friends and confidants only of those persons, who, at the time of the *Third Party*, had given the most violent counsels against his life; or with others who were now not less his enemies. But what was I able to do for his deliverance, when he would not assist my endeavours? Would any one imagine that this long discourse, which I am persuaded every reader must feel himself interested in, should end only in repeated intreaties to be attentive to the arts of the Spaniards, and to undertake again to persuade the queen that she ought to sacrifice the Conchinis, and all the rest who disturbed their peace, to the assurance he gave her by me, that, if she required it, he would never more visit any woman, married or unmarried? “For it is not just,” said this too good and too gentle prince, that I “should deprive myself of all my pleasures to satisfy her, unless she will do the same for me; or that I “should consent to all her desires, while she continues “to oppose all mine.”

He permitted me to communicate to Sillery what I thought proper of this conversation; but not to Villeroi. “I will go to dinner,” said he, for, indeed, it was very late, “and leave you at liberty to reflect on all I have “said to you. I rose this morning by break of day; for “I did not sleep all night, my mind was so much disturbed with these thoughts; nor should I have had

“better rest this night than the preceding, if I had not disclosed them all to you.” His majesty then got into my coach, which I had ordered to be made ready for him, saying to me in the presence of a great number of persons who were in the court, “Farewell, my friend, I love you most affectionately; continue to serve me always thus, and remember all the conversations we have had together; for you are as dear to me as you can, or ought to desire.”

I believe I have formerly justified, by the most solid reasons, my perseverance in the opinion, that all these plots, half foreign, half domestic, against his majesty's life, were neither real, nor greatly to be feared. I confess, however, that there were some moments wherein the force of my attachment to my prince would not permit me to hear, with indifference, all that was reported on this subject; nor could all my firmness hinder me from being terrified at what I knew to be a mere phantom. My mind was in this state all the time that Henry continued speaking to me, and after he had left me. It was not a little remarkable, that during the whole time Henry staid with me, I listened to him with a profound silence; not uttering one word in answer to what he said. When I sat down to dinner, the agitation of my heart, and the dark suspense which clouded my mind, threw me into a dejection and faintness, which gave me a disgust to every thing that was placed before me. Certainly there was no necessity for Henry's desiring me to make reflections on what he had said to me: I gave myself up entirely to them. I carried my views as far as I was able, that I might foresee every possible danger, and trace the remotest cause for suspicion.

When, however, this first tumult of my thoughts subsided, and more calm and settled considerations had taken place of those confused ideas which perplexed my mind, I was obliged to conclude, as I had always done, that it was Henry's apprehensions which had given rise to mine, and that his had no certain foundation. The council of Madrid, seeing that the king began to advance in years, and had already felt the attacks of some dangerous distempers, were willing to begin, in time, to make the queen and the French council relish a piece of policy, to which they might owe their security. The Spaniards found persons among the French who were strongly inclined to enter into their measures, and they made use of them to carry them on, that they might spare themselves the shame of making demands which were likely to be refused. If this was really the case, the Spanish council might reasonably be supposed to feign the contrary for a long time, and destroy or abate the ardour of the allies of France, deceived by this appearance. There was nothing in this conjecture which did not agree with the character of the Spanish nation, established by an infinite number of the like proceedings. When Philip II urged the duke of Alençon to engage in the enterprise against Antwerp, an enterprise which ruined his affairs and blasted his reputation; this was all that he secretly promised himself by it, while, in appearance, he seemed to look upon it as a necessary stroke, to secure to that prince the sovereignty of the Low Countries, which was the bait he threw out for him. But is this a sufficient foundation for saying, that Spain was endeavouring to become mistress of the king's life? How many motives rendered the person and interests of this prince dear to

the French nation, and even to those very courtiers whom, as it should seem, the Spaniards had engaged in their party? But to what excesses may not the human heart be carried when impelled by a violent passion? I am seized with horror at the very idea of actions, which these apprehensions must suppose persons to be guilty of, whose birth, education, and sentiments, restrain them from atrocious crimes, and black attempts, although they leave them capable of some transient weaknesses. Ought I to account for my thinking and speaking thus, from the respect I owe to certain persons, the delicacy of my sentiments, or merely from the rectitude of my own heart, and the detestation I feel for wickedness? However this may be, it is certain, that, after all these reflections, I found my mind in the same calm situation it was before the king spoke to me; and if that gentleness of disposition, which he was too well known to possess, gave me, from time to time, reason to be apprehensive, that licentiousness would gain ground through a hope of passing unpunished, yet I did not fear any of those dreadful blows* which bring with them a sudden consternation.

* It is manifest, from reading the Memoirs of that time, that the small number of Henry the Fourth's servants, who had an unfeigned affection for him, did not make use of all the precautions they might, to guard against the unfortunate accident that happened to him. Perhaps no solid answer can be given to those who may call this sentiment a judgment after the fact: and it must also be allowed, that if all the dark and secret plots, mentioned in an infinite number of places in these Memoirs, though nothing clear and positive touching them was ever discovered, were real, as the event seems to have proved, they could not fail of producing their effect, from the aversion this prince was known to have to severity and revenge. Those who from such examples draw arguments to turn the minds of sovereigns to despotism and cruelty, merit the utmost degree of hatred from mankind.

With regard to the other part of his majesty's discourse, it would have been more proper for this prince to have put an end, at once, to all reproaches from the queen, by beginning immediately to disengage himself from those attachments, which were but little suitable to his years; or, at least, in these sallies, to preserve his reason so far unclouded, as to avoid any attachment which might raise an amour into an affair of policy. Those gallantries, which Henry had been engaged in, were always destructive either to his glory or his interest, and certainly to his quiet. However, in the princess of Condé love laid the most dangerous snare for him it had ever done: all the consequences were justly and greatly to be feared.

From these reflections it may be conceived what answer I made to the king, when, according to his orders, I waited on him five or six days afterwards: he had left his chamber, and was gone through the great gallery to walk in the Tuilleries. We walked together, in the first gallery, for more than an hour. I removed his apprehensions, and restored him to his former tranquillity. He took a resolution to redouble his efforts to banish, if possible, from his council and court, all this Spanish policy; and promised to educate his children, and the young prince, who was heir to his crown, in

The manner in which the duke of Sully here lays open the bottom of his thoughts and opinions of those plots, absolutely destroys a doubt expressed by some, who seriously considered the transactions of those times, viz. that the duke was perfectly informed of whatever was intended against the person of Henry IV; but that having used his utmost endeavours to prevail on that prince to exert his authority to frustrate such designs, and finding that all the advice he had given Henry thereon, through his weakness, was always rejected, he was inwardly convinced this unhappy king could not avoid his cruel destiny: therefore he determined not to increase his apprehensions without cause; but only to prevail on him, as soon as possible, to leave a city where he was exposed to such imminent dangers.

his own maxims. To bind the Protestants to their king and their country, by the closest ties; and endeavour, with equal solicitude, to banish all foreigners from any participation in affairs of state: these were, in his opinion, the two principal maxims to be pursued, and the most likely to secure the public tranquillity against the rise of all domestic troubles.

The natural inference from all this was, that Henry should make immediate preparations for the execution of his great designs; since to defer them to an impotent old age, would be to hazard their success: and accordingly, from this moment, his application to every thing, which might contribute to them, increased every day. He now came oftener than ever to the arsenal, and I was almost every morning and evening with him at the Louvre, where my coach was allowed to drive into the court. The king granted this privilege, which only two other dukes enjoyed besides myself, in consideration of my indisposition, which rendered walking on the stones very troublesome to me: he having almost always occasion for me to be with him; and, I believe, his friendship for me was another motive equally strong.

He went on to make me draw up views and memorials, to form a complete cabinet of policy, and of the management of the finances; and that nothing might be wanting to the completion of his scheme, which he now laid fully before me, he ordered that I should have a great desk or cabinet, contrived full of drawers and holes, each with a lock and key, and all lined with crimson satin, in such number as to contain, in a regular disposition, all the pieces that were to be there deposited. The labour of this design was immense, though it does not appear such at the first glance.

To give a notion of it without repetition, the reader must figure to himself all that has any relation, either near or distant, to the revenue, to war, to the artillery, to naval power, to commerce, to policy, to money, to mines; in short, to all parts of the government, either within the kingdom or without it, whether ecclesiastical or civil, whether foreign or domestic. Every one of these parts had its distinct allotment in this cabinet of state, which was to be set in the great closet of books in the Louvre, furnished with all possible conveniences, that all the pieces under each of these heads, how numerous soever they might be, should appear at a single glance. On the side appointed for the finances was a collection of different regulations, memorials of operations, accounts of changes made or to be made, of sums to be received and paid: a quantity, almost innumerable, of views, memoirs, of abstracts and summaries, more or less compendious. All this is more easily imagined than represented. All the letters of any consequence, which his majesty had written to me, were there filed and numbered, with an index pointing out the contents of each.

As to military matters, besides the accounts, lists, and memoirs, which were to show the present state of the forces, there were all the regulations and papers of state, books treating of the arrangement of armies, plans, charts, geographical and hydrographical, both of France and of different parts of the world. These same charts upon a larger scale, mixed with different pieces of painting, were to be placed in the great gallery. Upon this his majesty and I conceived a thought of appointing a large room, with its first range to make a magazine of

models, of whatever is most curious in machinery, relating to war, arts, trades, and all sorts of exercises, noble, liberal, and mechanical; that all those, who aspired to perfection, might improve themselves without trouble in this silent school, the lower apartment was to hold the heavy pieces of workmanship, and the higher was to contain the lighter. An exact inventory of both was to be one of the pieces of the great cabinet.*

Among the pieces relating to the ecclesiastical government, the most curious were a list of all the benefices of the kingdom, with the qualifications which they required; and a view of all the ecclesiastical orders, secular and regular, from the highest prelate to the lowest clergyman, with the distinction of natives and foreigners of both religions. This work was to be imitated in another relating to temporal government, in which the king was to see, to a single man, the number of gentlemen throughout the kingdom, divided into classes, and specified according to the differences of title and estate. In this scheme the king had the more pleasure, as he had, for a long time, formed the plan for a new order of knighthood, with an academy and hospital, only for the nobility; which institution, however glorious and useful, would have been no expense either to the people or the revenue.† He had proposed, at the

* The death of Henry IV put a total stop to the execution of all these designs, which deserve all the praise that can be given them. It is also apparent, that however defective this state-museum remained, it has, nevertheless, given birth to many noble and useful establishments, which have done honour to succeeding ministers. This book will furnish many other subjects for this reflection. See what has been said of this in the preface.

† This design of the duke of Sully admits of a further extension. It has long been a just cause of complaint, that the public method of educating

same time, and with the same advantages, to establish a camp, or standing body of six thousand foot, a thou-

youth in the colleges of France, and in every part of Europe, still retains the barbarity of the most uncultivated times; the manner in which children are indiscriminately brought up, seems intended to qualify them only for the priesthood and the profession of theology. Latin and Greek, a system of rhetoric, fit only to deprave the taste and pervert the mind: a course of philosophy, which requires the application of two whole years to learn things so dry, tedious, and futile, that as much time would be necessary to drive them out of the mind, as was lost in acquiring them, did not the manner and language in which they are taught, themselves produce that effect: a course of law, that follows, of still greater length, and in which, with the same inconveniences, the ground of the French law is what is least taught. We see here in what particulars this method of education consists; the unhappy consequences of which are, that at a time when reading a number of good books, upon all subjects, ought to form a taste for the arts and sciences, and teach the principles of them, young men are not only held from making a progress, but sent into the world, fraught with prejudices against all kind of literature, and full of disgust to all books, from having been tediously confined to so small a number; a disgust which, in many instances, is never removed, or removed only so as to admit of reading, for mere amusement, at an age in which the mind has abated of that vigour, without which the maturest judgment is only as an useless talent.

Would, it therefore, be impossible to suppress, at least, one half of this prodigious number of Latin colleges, and convert the rest into such as are more adapted to the different professions for which youth are intended? to dedicate the first years of infancy to the learning the principal duties of religion and virtue? to read, write, and account well? to remove children from hence to other colleges, where, along with a slight acquaintance with the learned languages, for those who are not intended to make any great use of them, they should be taught to speak and write well in our own language: to familiarise themselves to its different styles, the epistolary in particular; and to understand the languages of, at the least, some of her neighbouring nations, with whom we have the most concern? to let these schools be succeeded by others, where the elements of the most necessary parts of mathematics, geography, and history, should be taught? where tactics, politics, laws, and commerce, laid down in a clear and concise method, should be made use of by the masters, to discover the bent of their pupils' genius? and by the pupils, to determine them in the choice of such studies as they are most disposed and attracted to by nature?

This short view of the subject can scarcely be deemed more than a very

sand horse, with six pieces of artillery completely fitted out: and, to keep the same proportion in the naval force, twelve ships, and as many gallies, were always to be kept ready for a voyage.

II. As schemes of improvement and reformation, in every respect, had one of the chief places in this cabinet, besides the general plan by which Henry had contrived to change the face of all Europe, and which was laid out and particularised in the clearest and most extensive manner, there were distinct projects upon all sorts of subjects: in those, for instance, that related to war, methods were laid down for preserving an exact discipline, not only in time of actual war, but likewise in peace, by which the persons of the trader, manufacturer, shepherd, and husbandman, would have been preserved inviolable from the soldiers. These four professions, by which the state may be truly said to be supported, would have been completely secured from all outrages of the nobility, by other regulations there specified, with relation to the domestic administration of government. The distinction of conditions, and the extent of the rights of each, were so exactly laid down, that none of them would have been able, for the future, either to break from their subordination, or make an ill

rough sketch of a better project. It, nevertheless, seems to me sufficient to point out the road which should be taken, to inspire you with a zeal for true glory, labour, and application, to prevent their falling into idleness and debauchery; and, in short, to supply the state with the most excellent subjects of every kind. We daily see instances, that the knowledge of this truth determines many parents to prefer a private and domestic education for their children to the public one of the colleges. One cannot find fault with them for this, notwithstanding the advantages of the one over those of the other are so conspicuous. This consideration makes it only more to be regretted, that public education has not yet been carried to that perfection, amongst us, every one perceives it is capable of, and ought to be.

use of their power. The design of the papers, relating to the clergy, was to engage all the ecclesiastics to make such use as the canons require of revenues which, properly speaking, were not their own; to forbid them to unite livings of the yearly value of six hundred livres, or to have any one that produced more than ten thousand livres; upon the whole, to acquit themselves worthily of their employments, and to consider it as their first duty to set a good example.

I will not enter into more particulars, having had occasion to treat of these subjects in different parts of these *Memoirs*.* I shall likewise refer the reader to all that he has seen, or shall see, in this book, upon the head of morality, and principles of just and wise governments, which had also their place in that collection. I thus cut off an account which I could have carried to great length, be-

* This kind of silent school for the finances, war, commerce, &c. appears to me so happily contrived, that, in reality, I see no bounds to the extension of the utility of it. What is the reason that those who are employed in the administration of the different affairs of the government are continually falling into so many mistakes? Because there being no positive rules, no written principles, they can consult, or whence they can either draw the information they ought to have, or correct their own ideas; they generally go on as chance conducts them, and often wander from the proper road. From hence, in every respect, it happens, that we arrive so late at the intended point, and that very often we miss it entirely. No body or community can subsist for two or three ages only, without the help of some fundamental rules of conduct, which can, on every emergency, be resorted to by those who have the direction of it. How then can the state, which comprehends all lesser communities, be conducted without them? How otherwise can those, who succeed in posts and employments, form any judgment, whether different circumstances require any alteration in the principles by which their predecessors were guided? For want of such rules, such permanent laws, many useful projects, which could not be carried into execution at the time of their invention, have perished with their inventors; and many bad ones, adopted by rashness and ignorance, have been perpetuated.

cause how much soever I might have extended it, I could never have shown the whole; at least not without tediousness and trouble, which would have been the greater as the account would have contained nothing absolutely new. Among other memorials relating to the finances, there was one upon the methods of raising money, which ought to be distinguished from the other pieces that are passed over without mention. By this scheme a hundred millions might be raised in three or four years. The only caution which I recommended, was not to make use of it without necessity; and to begin by the most easy and gentle of the different ways there mentioned. They were laid down in the order which I shall here give them, though this is only a mere epitome of the plan.*

A new regulation was to be made with regard to the presidents of ports and havens, the officers of the crown lands, and *traites forains et domaniales*, the tolls of the rivers, and the customs paid at their mouths; with a new valuation of these claims, and a new creation of officers for the collection. Another regulation related to the merchants who bought and sold cattle, wine, and other liquors, fresh and salt fish, wood, hay, and other provisions. Another related to the posts, in which were comprehended the post-masters and comptrollers, the masters of the king's stables, the couriers, bankers, and their commissioners, the stage-coaches,† the foot and horse messengers, and all carriages by land and water. When I read this article to

* There is another statement of this account in Sully's Memoirs, Vol. IV, p. 99. I have reduced both these into one.

† Post-horses and stage-coaches were first set up in the reign of Henry IV.

the king, he said, "I commend you to la Varenne, and all the people of the stable: I will send them all to you." Another scheme related to the markets of leather, the guagers, the keepers of coffee-houses, the retailers, commissaries, assessors, and collectors, the proprietors of lodging-houses, and many others. "Right," said Henry, "you must do all this for us; for not a day passes but I am teased to make a grant of some or other of these." Another was upon the fourth and eighth aids, the entry and exportation of goods, whether from city to city, or from province to province; a creation of new officers for the magazines of salt, with an augmentation of taxes paid by them and by retailers; an augmentation of a crown upon every *minot* of salt, and other regulations respecting both the salt works, and the sale of the salt which is got from them. "This," says Henry, "I should like well; but you must begin with your own government, or else we shall have great clamour." The *parties casuelles*, and the *droit annuel*;^{*} the secretaries of the king were to be

* This is the first and only time the *droit annuel* is mentioned in these Memoirs. This is the more surprising, because this law, by which offices of justice, made saleable in the reign of Francis I, are made hereditary, was established under Henry IV, and therefore M. Sully was probably the principal author of it; and because, when the edict for its establishment was made, nothing was heard but murmurs and complaints; that the purchase of those offices being, by means of this new law, raised to an exorbitant price, the nobility and people of merit would be totally excluded from them, and they would, for the future, fall to the share only of monied men; whereby the vexations, in the administration of justice, would be increased, instead of being diminished.

Cardinal Richelieu, convinced by the good reasons M. de Sully had for acting thus, and which he had from that minister's own mouth, employs the first section of the fourth chapter of his Political Testament, Part I, to prove that neither the sale nor inheritance of offices of justice ought to be abolished in this kingdom. "The late king," says he, "by the advice of

augmented to sixteen. A tax was to be raised upon salt, in the form of the *taille*, to make a fund for the wages of the different sovereign and subaltern officers, parti-

“ a very good council, in the time of a profound peace, and in a reign free
 “ from want, added the establishment of the right of inheriting of offices of
 “ justice to the right of selling them. It is not to be presumed he would have
 “ taken this step, without a mature consideration, and without foreseeing,
 “ as far as human prudence is able, the consequences and effects of it. No-
 “ thing contributed so much to enable the duke of Guise to render himself
 “ powerful in the league, against the king and state, as the great number
 “ of officers he had, by his interest, brought into the principal posts of the
 “ kingdom. I have been told by the duke of Sully, that this consideration
 “ was one of the chief motives with the king for establishing the *droit an-
 “ nuel*,” &c.

After this, the cardinal de Richelieu maintains, that it is better those offices should be bought, than given to poor and indigent people, or be carried off by ambition and interest. “ Instead,” says he, “ of opening the
 “ door to virtue, it would be opened to cabals and factions, and the great
 “ offices would be filled with officers of low extraction, often better stocked
 “ with latin than riches—Low birth seldom produces in men the qua-
 “ lifications necessary to form a great magistrate—Wealth is a great orna-
 “ ment to dignities, and they are so much heightened by exterior lustre,
 “ that one may boldly say, that of two persons of equal merit, the prefer-
 “ ence ought to be given to him who is in the most affluent circumstances:
 “ besides, the fear of losing all he is worth, will be no small restraint
 “ against misbehaviour to an officer, who has engaged the greatest part of
 “ his estate in the purchase of his office.—If,” says he again, “ offices
 “ could be obtained without money, commerce would be abandoned by
 “ many, who, dazzled with the splendour of dignities, would rather push
 “ themselves into offices at the expense of being ruined, than acquire
 “ wealth for their families by employing themselves in commerce.”

“ He proves the particular usefulness of the *droit annuel*, from the con- sideration, that, without it, all the old officers would resign their offices,
 “ when experience, and the ripeness of age, had made them most capable
 “ of serving the public.” He ought, I think, to have added this further reason, that a young man who is intended for the enjoyment of one of those posts, will receive from his parents an education suitable to that station of life they know he is designed to fill. The advice wherewith our author finishes this article, is to fix the value of these offices at a moderate price,
 “ which should not exceed,” says he, “ the half of what, from the extrava-
 “ gant humour of the people, is now given for them.” He does justice to Henry IV on this head: “ The late king,” he says, “ foreseeing this evil.

cularly of the courts of justice: another respected the offices of lieutenants, comptrollers, and treasurers, as well general as provincial, to be dignified with new titles, and set over the artillery, bridges, and causeways: another scheme respected the employments of bailiwicks, elections, and magazines of salt, to increase them by new grants of wages and privileges, out of the money raised upon the *taille*, even to five sous in the livre. To establish new elections in Guyenne, Languedoc, Brittany, and Burgundy: the king foresaw that, in these provinces, there would be much murmuring. New treasurers were to be created in the offices of the finances, two at Sens and at Cahors, six in Brittany, and three elsewhere. Henry said, that the number of these harpies should be rather lessened than increased.

“ had inserted in the edict he made on this subject, clauses able to prevent
 “ it; not only excepting from the *droit annuel*, the offices of the chief presidents, and the solicitors and attorneys-general; but moreover reserving
 “ to himself the power to dispose of those offices which are subject to it,
 “ when vacant, on paying previously to the heirs of the possessors of them
 “ the price at which they should be valued. The mischiefs which the *droit*
 “ *annuel* at present occasions, do not proceed so much from any faults in
 “ the nature of it, as from the restrictions this great prince had subjected
 “ it to, having been imprudently taken off. If the edict had continued in
 “ the purity of its original institution, the value of offices would never
 “ have risen to that excessive height it is now at. It is, therefore, only necessary to reduce the edict for the *droit annuel*, to the terms of its first
 “ establishment.”

These words fully justify the duke of Sully, against all the imputations that have been cast on him, on account of the counsel he gave Henry IV, touching the famous edict of the *droit annuel*. By virtue of this edict, the officers of justice were compelled to pay the sixtieth part of the produce of their offices, which continued to be done every ninth year till 1709, when they were obliged to buy off this charge. See le Journal de l'Etoile, anno 1605, when this edict was made, de Thou, Mezerai, &c. The excessive number of the officers of justice, &c. is the principal and the true cause of all the other mischiefs men of sense complain of in respect to this edict.

I proposed to create, in times of necessity, a still greater number of offices among the treasurers, payers of rents and wages, receivers, and other officers of the tailles, secretaries and under-officers of the greater and lesser chancery, as well as to make new grants to the offices already in being: to appoint two principal commissioners over all the offices in the revenue. To particularise all this would take up too much room. The virtue of the king representing to him, what was yet a mere project, as already put in execution, made him exclaim against such a number of regulations, which, I agreed with him, the people were not to be charged with, but in case of great necessity.

To conclude: it was proposed, that sovereign courts should be erected in different cities, such as a parliament, chamber of accounts, and court of aids, at Lyons and Poitiers, suppressing the court of aids, at Montferand. As it was proposed that the aids should be extended to Brittany, a court of aids was to be created there, another at Bourdeaux, with a chamber of accounts, a third in Burgundy, and a fourth in Provence. At this the king shook his head, and said not a word. I shall not repeat here what I have already said in many parts of these Memoirs. From the aversion which I have shown, with regard to whatever is styled luxury, it will readily be supposed, that all foolish and superfluous expenses were heavily taxed, and so indeed they were; and I shall honestly declare, that if my influence had been sufficient, besides cutting off a great part of those expenses, which are inconsistent with the pressing necessities of the state, I should have prohibited, likewise, coaches and other inventions of luxury, ex-

cept to those persons whose condition in life could enable them to gratify their vanity at a high price.

If it be necessary to lay this check upon luxury, of which the contagion has insensensibly seized on all parts of the community, it is yet of more importance to stop its fatal consequences in those to whom it is not merely an occasion of negligence and softness, but a cause of corruption and ruin of families. Provision was made against this by another scheme, placed likewise among the pieces of the cabinet of state; nor was it one of the least misfortunes occasioned by the untimely death of the king, that it buried in the grave with him so many useful designs at the moment of their birth.

According to another regulation, an edict would have passed to oblige the advocates and attorneys-general of the parliament, to prosecute and punish, in an exemplary manner, all those, who, by the example of their dissoluteness and prodigality, injured the public, themselves, or other people; and to this they were bound, under penalty of answering themselves, for all the disorders which their negligence or connivance might produce. The way by which this was to be put in their power, without rendering their offices burthensome beyond measure, was to join with them, in every jurisdiction, three persons publicly appointed, under the title of censors or reformers, chosen every three years in a public assembly, and authorized by their office, to which was joined every kind of exemption, not only to lay before the judges informations against all fathers, or children, of families guilty of dishonourable dissoluteness, and of the superfluous expenses, to a degree beyond their fortune; but likewise to force the judges themselves to punish these excesses in the manner prescribed:

or, on failure, to call them to an account, as partners of the crime. Every prosecution was to be preceded by two warnings; but, at the third, an action was issued out, by which the person accused was put under tutorage, and saw the management of his affairs consigned to other hands, who were to leave him only two thirds of his revenue, and apply the other part to the payment of his debts, and for the repairs of his estate: and this was to last till evident tokens were given of a real reformation, and a return to a more reasonable way of thinking and acting. From this law no condition was excepted; and it is likely that no member of the community would have escaped this judicature, because it was itself answerable to a higher tribunal, and even the officers were fixed down to their duty by the dread of punishment equivalent to disgrace.

It would have been decreed, at the same time, to destroy this mischief in its origin, that no person, of whatever quality or condition, should be allowed to borrow a sum which, compared with his estate, could be deemed considerable; and that no other should lend it him, on pain of losing it, unless it were, at the same time, declared in a contract or obligation, to what use the money so borrowed should be employed; what debts the borrower already had; to what persons, upon what security, and what revenue was still left him; as well to secure the debt as to maintain his family. With the same intention, every father of a family, and every person who acted in the character of a father, were forbidden to give to one of their children, on settling them in the world, a larger fortune than justice allowed, upon a due consideration of their present means, and of the number of their children born or likely to be born, excepting only, that the authority of a father was se-

cured, by allowing him to punish a vicious or unnatural son. But even in this case the offence was to be clearly proved, and this arbitrary disposition was to extend only to moveable goods, or their own acquisition.

This regulation of domestic economy, was but a part of the general regulation with respect to the whole, and principally with respect to trials of causes, of which, I believe, the reader will be pleased with an account; for the interest which every one has in seeing the innumerable abuses of the courts amended, is great, general, and universally known. The design of Henry was to impart it, at first to the presidents of the different courts of justice, and the king's counsellors in the parliaments; not to be disputed, but that they might give their opinions and advice, upon the supposition, that, concurring in the same design, they might discover something useful for the contraction of processes, and the destruction of the despicable art of chicanery. When these articles of regulation had been finally drawn up, according to the opinions which were thought best, his majesty was resolved to bring them into parliament, written with his own hand, to have them registered. The reader has already seen those which we had previously drawn up, which would probably have passed with little alteration.

In all suits between relations, counted nearly according to the canonical degrees of consanguinity and affinity, as well temporal as spiritual, the plaintiff was obliged, in the first place, to make an offer, from which he was not to depart, of referring all the differences to the arbitration of four persons, two chosen by each party, among their friends or relations; to name these two arbitrators on the spot, and to set down, in distinct articles, signed with his own hand, all his pretensions

and demands, to which he was not allowed to make any additions. The same thing was to be done by the defendant, who had only a month allowed him to name his arbitrators. In another month the arbitrators were to be in possession of all the proofs and writings of both parties; another month was allowed the arbitrators to pronounce judgment; and a month after that was allowed to a superior arbitrator, to determine those points on which the voices had been equally divided: for all other points were to be considered as determined, and came not under the cognizance of the superior arbitrator. The same regulation took place with the judges: they could not again bring the main cause before them, nor make any inquiry into the fundamental question; but only give sentence according to judgment, good or bad, of the arbitrators upon the pieces laid before them. The sovereign courts had, in this respect, no higher privileges than ordinary jurisdictions: they could neither appoint a new inquiry, nor receive new proofs; and they were allowed only a month or six weeks to make a decree, which, if they exceeded that time, became void, and the judges themselves were condemned to pay the losses and damages of both parties.

The notaries were declared principal and competent judges of all contracts, transactions, obligations, transfers, grants, exchanges, sales, and leases; so that the opinion given by them, upon the sense of any contract brought before them, was provisionally established, notwithstanding any opposition or appeal; and the superior judges could not proceed, upon that sentence, in any other manner than as upon the sentence of a court of established judicature. The precaution, by which the knavery of the notaries was obviated, was, that first, every act must have passed in the presence of two

notaries, or of one notary, and two witnesses; in the second place, the contracting parties were obliged to bring each of them an advocate to the assistance of the notaries, whose advice the latter were to take, and set down their names in the decisions. This act, and the sentence thus past, would never afterwards be falsified, if it was for a sum exceeding a hundred livres.

The summons could not be brought before any other judge than that of the defendant, and, as I have said, it was to contain all the claims of the plaintiff, in a manner so general, that nothing was afterwards to be done except making an answer to the allegations of the defendant, under a penalty upon the judges, advocates, and solicitors. These advocates and solicitors were immediately to put the cause into such a state, that it might be determined; and till it was in such a state, they were forbidden to plead it, or bring it into court. The most considerable causes, those in which there were to be many writings and much evidence, could not be delayed more than three months; and here, as in all other bills of importance, bills of review were not allowed, and the only recourse was to letters patent, dispatched in the council of state, and sealed with the great seal.

This regulation extended, in its particulars, to every single point of law, or custom that required to be rectified; such as the rules, which have already been mentioned upon the bad economy of the inhabitants, upon the common right of possession between husband and wife, and others, which I do not mention, with respect to perquisites, salaries, vacations, and other charges; as well as of the different subterfuges of chicanery, and all the abuses of the courts of justice; with respect to pleaders and writers, and many other things, of which

every body hears loud complaints. The king could find nothing better to be done, than to refer all those particulars to the discretion and regulation of twelve men, selected from amongst those who had most knowledge of business, and were men of the greatest wisdom and equity, who were to pursue the design in the following method: They were to write down, in form of a memorial, all the formalities, generally observed, without omitting any: in the next place, those which they thought the public good required should be omitted: and, lastly, that which they thought the best to substitute in their place. This work being so far finished, was to be subjected to a careful examination of three of the king's principal ministers and counsellors, who were to give their opinion upon it; after which the king was likewise to declare his sentiments, and to give it all the authority necessary to make the future practices of the courts invariable and uniform.

When we had once begun to compose this general *inventory of state*, it became one of our most usual subjects of conversation, and the king appeared extremely impatient to have it made perfect. He sent one of the pages of his chamber for me one morning, when the weather was excessive hot; for, I think, it was in the month of June. I went directly to his closet; but I found he had just left it, and was already in the Tuilleries. I could not overtake him till he had got as far as the terrace, belonging to the Capuchin friars, near a little door, through which he entered their chapel to hear mass. As soon as he saw me, at a distance, followed by that crowd of clients who seem to guess every place where ministers are likely to be; "Go," said he, "and tell the Capuchins, that they must delay mass a little; for I must confer with M. de Sully, who is not

“a good mass-man: if he would take my advice as to this affair, I should love him still more than I do, and there is nothing which he might not expect from my friendship: however, such as he is, I have a tender affection for him, and receive great advantages from his services.” His majesty then took my hand, which he held in his; and during two hours that we walked together, he talked to me only of some new memorials, which he asked me for, to add to his cabinet of state. At parting, he bid me aloud be as exact and diligent as possible in this work. “Let there be few words,” said he, “and much matter. However, all must be plain and clear; for I would communicate some part of it to two or three of my servants, whose names I will tell you.” I replied, that his majesty must give me a little time to execute this task, since he required method, brevity, and clearness, at once. “Do it then as soon as you can,” said Henry; “you know my style, and I know yours; they agree well together.”

I sent a message to the chancellor to let him know that I should not go to the council, and I shut myself up all the rest of that day, and part of the night, looking over books and papers; nor did I even sit down to supper. At seven o'clock, the next morning, the king came to the arsenal, attended by those persons whom he had mentioned to me the day before. These were messieurs d'Ornano, de Boësse, du Bourg, de Lisle, de St. André, de Montpellier, de Pilles, de Fortia, de St. Canard, de la Buisse, de la Vieuville. There were likewise messieurs de Vitry, de Vic, de Nérestan, de St. Géran, la Varenne, d'Escures, Erard, and Châtillon, engineers, (for part of some affairs, relating to their profession, made the business,) Bethune, my cousin; and, lastly, some foreigners, sent by Lesdiguieres and

the duke of Bouillon, and another, named Pucharnault, from la Force. My closet was almost full. I had not been able to draw up the memorial in question, and the reason I gave his majesty for it, who had asked for it immediately, was, that I had received some dispatches from la Force, concerning a new disturbance raised by the Spaniards in Bearn, and the Lower Navarre, which it was necessary to answer immediately. I likewise writ to him, said I, about my nephew, and my niece Birron, whom they want to get divorced, which will be a fine piece of work; for she believes she is with child; and she really is so. "This," replied his majesty, "is one of the strangest cases I ever knew, and the most ridiculous: I am deceived if ever you will be able to bring these people to reason." "Finish your dispatches," added he, after telling me, in a low voice, something he had to communicate to me, "and finish likewise our papers as soon as possible, and do not go to the council to-day." "That cannot be, sire," I replied: "for some affairs of consequence are to be laid before it, which were not examined yesterday on account of my absence." "Well, do the best you can," said he, "and adieu; for I am going to the Tuilleries."

I laboured with so much industry at the memorial, that it was ready the next morning, when his majesty again sent for me to the Tuilleries. I gave my secretary these papers to carry, inclosed in a loose sheet of paper, and sealed. I found Sillery and Villeroi with the king, and we all four continued to walk, during almost two hours, discoursing upon the scheme of these memorials, with so much heat and action, that it was easily perceived by those at a distance, that we did not agree in our opinions. I was going away without taking notice of my packet to the king, when he called me

back, and asked me for it. I showed it to him in my secretary's hands, whom I afterwards ordered to present it to his majesty when he had an inclination to read it; but to take care that he brought it back with him sealed again, in the same manner it now was. What had passed in our conversation, made it necessary for me to use this precaution, which my secretary afterwards excused himself for to Henry, by alleging the positive commands I had given him. He followed the king, who went to the Capuchins to hear mass, and took this opportunity to go to breakfast; for it would not have been easy to have found another. The king seeing him when he came from mass, "Follow me," said he, "to the Louvre, and do not go away from thence till I have spoken to you." As soon as he came to his closet, he asked him for the packet. My secretary then told him the orders I had given him. "Well," said his majesty, "be it so; but, I tell you again, do not leave the Louvre." He then went into his library to leave the packet there while he dined. The court was not very full, because it was later than usual. The king hardly spoke to any one, and appeared to be in deep thought, often striking his knife upon his plate.

My secretary believed he was about to be dismissed, when he saw the king rise from table and return to his closet, and heard himself called for, about half an hour afterwards: but some princes and lords of the court coming in at that moment, with whom his majesty seemed to have entered into conversation, he withdrew into a corner with la Varenne and Béringhen. The place where they stood was very dark, so that it was not easy to perceive them, especially if they took a little care to conceal themselves, which they did, though without any

design. Some minutes afterwards they saw Henry advance, with two or three of the company whom he had separated from the rest, and came so near them that they could hear what he said, although he did not speak very loud; they redoubled their attention, and they heard him say these words: “I am fatigued with walking so long this morning; for I have been conversing more than two hours, upon matters of great importance, with three men whom I have found as contrary in their opinions, as they are in their tempers and inclinations. Any other than myself, perhaps, would find it difficult to employ them; but I am so well acquainted with their whinns, that I even draw advantages from their debates and opposition, which serve to make all affairs they are engaged in so plain and clear, that it is easy for me to choose that method which appears to be best. You know them well enough without my naming them.”

His majesty continued to draw the pictures of his three ministers in the following manner. I shall be candid enough not to make the least alteration in his words, even where I was myself concerned, and it was with me that he began. “Some persons,” said Henry, “common, and, indeed, I do myself sometimes, of his temper: they say he is harsh, impatient, and obstinate: he is accused of having too enterprising a mind, of presuming too much upon his own opinions, exaggerating the worth of his own actions; and lessening that of others; as likewise of eagerly aspiring after honours and riches. Now, although I am well convinced that part of these imputations are true, and that I am obliged to keep a high hand over him, when he offends me with those sallies of ill humour, yet I cannot cease to love him, esteem him, and employ him in all affairs

“of consequence; because I am very sure, that he loves
“my person, that he takes an interest in my preserva-
“tion, and that he is ardently solicitous for the honour,
“the glory, and grandeur of me and my kingdom. I
“know also that he has no malignity in his heart; that
“he is indefatigable in business, and fruitful in expedi-
“ents; that he is a careful manager of my revenue, a
“man laborious and diligent, who endeavours to be ig-
“norant of nothing, and to render himself capable of
“conducting all affairs, whether of peace or war; who
“writes and speaks in a style that pleases me, because
“it is, at once, that of a soldier and statesman. In a
“word, I confess to you, that, notwithstanding all his
“extravagancies, and little transports of passion, I find
“no one so capable as he is of consoling me under
“every uneasiness.” I shall not here expatiate upon
the praise or blame which is conveyed in these words;
but candidly confess, that I may deserve both the one
and the other. The part of an honest man, upon such
an occasion, is to profit of both, that he may daily rec-
tify his heart and his manners.

“The second,” pursued Henry, speaking of the chan-
cellor Sillery, “is of a compliant disposition, not easily
“offended, wonderfully insinuating in his behaviour,
“and cautious in his actions: he has a good understand-
“ing, is well versed in science, and the business of his
“profession; nor is he ignorant of others: he speaks
“well, with method, and clearness: he is not capable
“of forming any black designs against others; yet he is
“extremely solicitous to accumulate wealth and titles;
“he is never without news, or persons in his pay, to
“make discoveries for him: he is not of a humour to
“hazard, lightly, either his person or fortune for others.
“His virtues and his faults being thus balanced, it is

“easy for me to use the former advantageously for myself, and guard against the bad consequences of the latter.*

“As to the third,” continued the king, speaking of Villeroi, “he has been long practised in business; is thoroughly acquainted with the transactions of his own times: he has, from his earliest youth, been employed in state affairs more than the two others: he observes great order and regularity in the execution of his office, and judgment in distributing those papers which belong to his employment: he is generous, and his abilities appear by his modesty and silence, and his reluctance to speak in public;† yet he is obstinate, and cannot bear to have his opinions contradicted, which, he thinks, ought to serve for good reasons: yet he will temporize a while, and wait with patience till the faults of others have proved him to be in the right, which I have sometimes found my advantage in.”

* This chancellor did the state three signal services; by employing part of his wealth in retaining the Swiss in our alliance; at the peace of Vervins; and in negotiating the king’s marriage. “The chancellor de Sillery was a man of no learning.”* Henry IV used to say of him, and the constable, Henry de Montmorency, that with his chancellor, who did not understand Latin, and his constable, who could neither read nor write, he could execute the most difficult affairs.” *Amelot de la Houssaye*, note 1, on the 195th letter of cardinal d’Ossat.

† Of all the places in these Memoirs, where M. de Villeroi is mentioned, we ought to fix on this as the principal one, to give us a proper insight into the character of that minister, and chiefly from the opinion Henry IV had of it. One single original account, like this, deserves more credit than all uncertain reports, or such as are dictated by prejudice, aversion, or a spirit of party.

* According to Sir George Carew. at this time ambassador in France, “he spoke the Latin and Italian tongues in good perfection, and had some knowledge of the Greek. In his humanity learning, as in the science of the laws, he was held rather superficial than profound.” *State of France under Hen. IV.*, at the end of Birch’s *Negotiat.* EDIT.

This discourse of his majesty was addressed to persons of the first quality, who, although they had probably inclination enough to answer it, yet continued silent: and the king, some moments afterwards, perceiving my secretary, ordered my papers to be given him, which he brought back to me sealed, as I had desired.

Before we leave these general affairs of the finances, it is necessary to see what there is particular on this article for the present year. Dennis Feydeau and his associates had got the general farm of the aids adjudged to themselves, by offering two hundred thousand livres a year more than the former farmers. I foresaw what really happened, that Feydeau would not be able to get in his money. Accordingly he presented a petition to his majesty, praying to be discharged of these two hundred thousand livres. I thought these farmers suffered no more than what they justly deserved, since no unforeseen accident had happened, nor had any obstacle been raised to their quiet possession; and what increased my anger was, that the imprudence of these new-comers had deprived us of farmers, who were able to pay, to substitute others in their room who were insolvent. However, I prevailed upon his majesty to agree to this diminution under the title of a grant, without which they would be exposed to a bankruptcy, and the additional trouble of setting the aids again to sale. I judged only, that it ought not to take place till the 1st of January, 1610, or, at least, till the first of October this year, that his majesty might not lose, all at once, the sum of four hundred thousand francs.

I caused Ferrand, first sergeant of the chamber of accounts of Paris, to be prosecuted. He was deprived of all the offices and commissions he exercised in this court, which his majesty, even before judgment was

given, bestowed upon la Fond, who has been mentioned in these Memoirs: he was already intendant; and the king, as a farther reward for his fidelity, made him a present of the furniture of the Conciergerie. The count of Soissons, and the other officers of the king's household, presented likewise a petition against the treasurer Pajot, which was sent to me. Puget, another treasurer of the exchequer, having, the year before, by the orders of his majesty, given a favourable declaration for Placin, formerly his clerk, which the king was guarantee for, and was deposited in my hands, his majesty wrote to me to give this paper to Puget, as he himself had engaged should be done, in case the suit, which was between these two financiers, could not be terminated without it.

His majesty, after first asking my advice, ordered a brevet to be granted to Mortier Choisy, by which he was declared released from the residue of his farm for fifty thousand livres; half to be paid immediately, and the other half in six months. He likewise ordered to be delivered to Zamet the acquittances of the two offices of arrears in Normandy, amounting to five thousand crowns, with the writings necessary for the payment, likewise of the sum of forty-nine thousand nine hundred and odd livres, for which he had given an assignment, the last year, upon the two sols and six deniers upon each measure of salt, for a like sum, which Zamet had advanced him. Henry likewise gave twelve thousand livres to Montigny, six thousand to d'Escures, and two thousand four hundred livres to different pensionaries in Burgundy, which were delivered to them by M. le Grand, and paid the president Tambonneau his pension for the last year. These circumstances I collect from letters his majesty writ to me with his own hand.

I received also some letters from the queen, one of which related to her releasing certain rights which had been made over to her, and were charged on lands belonging to queen Margaret, to whom they had been granted by brevet. In another she desired that I would pay the wife of Conchini twenty thousand crowns, which the king, to oblige the queen, had given her upon the presidents established in the office of finances. Leonora, having so great interest in the affair, had performed her part so well, that the money, as the queen told me, was ready to be paid.

The sums, the principal ones at least, which I carried to the account of Henry's private expenses, are, first, twenty-two thousand pistoles, which, on the 18th of January, he sent to tell me that he had lost at play; a hundred thousand livres at one time, and fifty-one thousand at another, which he lost likewise at play to Edouard Fernandes, a Portuguese. He ordered me to take up this last sum, of fifty-one thousand livres, upon sixty thousand which was to return to him upon the office of advocate-general at Rouen, after the death of Marguerite, to whose children he gave the nine thousand remaining, in consideration of the good service he had received from their father in this parliament, and he gave the office to des Yvetaux,* a relation of the deceased. For play a thousand pistoles; he, at first, sent only for five hundred; but Beringhen came afterwards for the other five hundred. I carried him a thousand pistoles for play likewise, when I went with the chancellor to wait on him at Fontainebleau, where he was taking physic after the Easter holidays: my journey thither was occasioned by some dispatches which Preaux had brought from Jeannin. The king, beginning to re-

* Nicholas Vauquelin des Yveteaux.

flect more seriously upon the excess to which he carried his passion for play, became sensible of the necessity there was to correct it, and often afterwards promised me that he would moderate it, if he could do no more. He continued to lay out great sums upon buildings, and sent Zamet* from Fontainebleau to inspect them, when he could not go himself. I find likewise, in my accounts for this year, an acquittance from Marcadé for four thousand seven hundred and forty livres, for eleven hundred and sixteen pearls which Henry had made a present of to mademoiselle de Vendôme, his daughter; another of three thousand to mademoiselle des Essarts; and another of three hundred livres to Saubion, her servant.

The chancellor and I were directed to name commissioners to treat with those of the duke of Lorraine, about settling the limits of the country of Messin, which every day gave rise to some new contests. I sent the comptroller of the fortifications to Calais, with a sum of money to repair the damage which had been lately done by the sea to the Risbank. I was informed of it by vice-admiral de Vic, who could have wished that the government had been at a more considerable expense for this town, and who formed several schemes, as well for its conveniency and security, as to prevent the inundations to which this place and the neighbouring parts were exposed.

There never was a more useful law made, than that which appeared this year against fraudulent bank-

* This rich officer, at that time, took the titles of baron of Murat and Billy, counsellor of the king in all the councils, governor of Fontainebleau, and comptroller of the queen's household. He died at Paris in 1614, aged about 65, leaving one son, a camp-marshal, who was killed at the siege of Montpellier; and another, bishop of Langress; he had those sons by Magdalen le Clerk du Tremblai, and got them legitimated.

rupts:* it decreed, that such bankrupts should be punished with death; as being robbers of the public; that all donations, grants, sales, and assignments made by them, to their children, heirs, friends, and supposititious creditors, should be annulled, and those that accepted of them punished as their accomplices, if it should appear to the judges that all this was done with an intention to defraud the true creditors. By this regulation all persons were forbid, on pain of being prosecuted as accomplices likewise, to give a retreat to these bankrupts, their securities, clerks, or factors; as also to receive any of their goods, papers, or effects; or to afford them the least assistance: all persons were permitted to detain them without a warrant, and to bring them to justice, notwithstanding any arret and custom to the contrary: and, lastly, the true creditors of the bankrupts were forbid to make any agreements or contracts with them, or any persons acting for them, upon pain of losing their debts, and even of having a criminal prosecution commenced against them. An action at law was the only way left open to them. This appeared to me to be almost all that could be done to secure the public trade and tranquillity, both equally interested in an abuse which was now become very common.

This edict was followed by another against duels, which I had long earnestly solicited for. An extraordinary council being assembled for this purpose in the first gallery at Fontainebleau, his majesty, who was resolved to examine into this matter thoroughly, desired to know the origin of the different forms and customs used in duelling. His counsellors gave him no cause to compliment them upon their erudition: all remained

* Merc. Franc. and other historians. Anno 1609.

silent, and myself, as well as the others; but with such expression in my looks, as made the king easily perceive that I only wanted his command to speak. His majesty then turned towards me, and said, “Master-general, by your looks, I guess, you know more than you pretend to know; I entreat; nay, I command you to tell us your thoughts.” I still refused, through respect; but being again pressed to declare my sentiments, I made a speech, which I shall not repeat here, since it contained nothing more than what I formerly said in these Memoirs, when I treated that subject.* I took care to send the edict against duels† immediately into my government, and to have it observed there with the utmost strictness.

III. To this account of the affairs of the government, it will not be improper to add some intrigues of the court. Upon the advices I have mentioned of certain factions in several provinces, the king resolved to send thither some person in his name, and N—— was the man he pitched upon for this purpose, one who will neither be pleased nor offended at seeing himself mentioned here. I could not approve of this choice, knowing that the hatred he bore to several persons there, would induce him to lay crimes to their charge which they never had the least intention of committing: I therefore told his majesty, that, if N—— was the person employed by him, I would send no one thither from myself, because I did not choose to act with such an associate. N——, disappointed of this employment, resolved to revenge himself on me by every method he

* See p 50 of this volume.

† This edict, which obliges those who have been offended in point of honour to have recourse to the marshals of France, or their lieutenants, for reparation, inflicts very severe penalties; infamy, loss of nobility, and even death. P. Matthieu, Vol. II. book iv.

could think of, and offered those courtiers, whom he knew to be my enemies, to serve them as the instrument of all their designs against me.

Accordingly he went one day to the marquis de Coeuvres, and after obliging him to secrecy, it being, he said, his zeal only which induced him to make the discovery, he affirmed, that I was gone to the parliament under pretence of having some business there; but, in reality, to withdraw from the register's office the letters of legitimation of M. de Vendome, which had been carried thither to be registered in parliament. De Coeuvres went immediately to make this report to the person whom it most concerned, and M. de Vendome went also as hastily to complain of it to the king. His majesty asked him the name of the person who had given him this information; but M. de Vendome, without discovering the impostor, answered for the truth of his report in such a manner, that the king could no longer doubt of it; and when he saw me the next morning, asked me what business I had at the parliament. I replied, (which was true,) "That I had gone thither to take copies of some papers in the registers for which I had occasion." "Was it for any thing that concerned my son de Vendome?" returned Henry. "No, sire," said I; and, surprised at the manner in which he spoke to me, "why should you think M. de Vendome was concerned in it?" "I know why," replied this prince coldly. Two or three other words, equally mysterious, which escaped his majesty, gave me to understand, that he had some suspicion in his mind. I entreated him to tell me what it was, which he did; and I soon convinced him that calumny had here played its usual part.

That same day, in the afternoon, the king being at the house of the countess of Moret, a little boy came there with a packet, which he delivered to the first footman he met. Madam de Moret, to whom it was brought, found a note, in which the same informations were given her, concerning her children, as de Coeuvres had received with regard to M. de Vendome. She began to weep; and the king desiring to know the reason, she gave him the note to read. Henry asked for the boy who had brought it; but he was not to be found. “Madam,” said he to the countess, with a thoughtful and gloomy air, “there is some malice here on one side or “the other.” He then endeavoured to make some discoveries concerning the author of these stories. The boy was soon found out; and by what he said, the king guessed that N—— was the person: for having in vain desired de Coeuvres to name him, he named him himself; and de Coeuvres, in his surprise, could not deny he was the man. However, he gave immediate notice to N—— of what had happened. N——, who saw that this affair was likely to become very serious, went to Villeroi, and, throwing himself at his feet, intreated him to support him against the effects of my resentment. Villeroi, who thought there might be some danger in defending him, at least if he did it openly, would not make him any promise; but contented himself with hazarding, when an opportunity offered, a few favourable words for N——, which his majesty received with such an air, as made him repent of his complaisance for that impostor.

Henry had just then discovered two other instances of this man’s malignant disposition, which showed that he was capable of failing in respect to majesty itself;

one was, that he had had the imprudence to propagate publicly a feigned tale of an amour between Henry and a certain girl, whom he named, and the malice to inform the queen of it; and the other, that he had encouraged father Gonthier, a Jesuit, to continue his outrageous manner of preaching, which had already made some noise, by assuring him, that one of his sermons, which he quoted, and which was one of the most furious, had been generally admired and praised by the lords of the court, naming, in particular, the marshals de Brissac and d'Ornano.* This lie was unfortunate enough for

* "Father Gonthier, a Jesuit, in the presence of the king, who attended his sermons in St. Gervase's church, on Friday, Christmasday, Saturday, and Sunday, made continual declamations against the Huguenots, whom he several times called *vermin, scoundrels*;" and speaking of the new articles of their confession, in which they call the pope antichrist; "If it is true, sire," says he, "that the pope is antichrist, on what footing stands your marriage? Where is the dispensation for it? What will become of M. the dauphin?" Marshal d'Ornano said one day to the king; "If any Jesuit had dared to preach before me at Bourdeaux, as father Gonthier did in your majesty's presence, I would have ordered him to be thrown in to the river the moment he came out of the pulpit." Mem. Histoire de France, anno 1609.

All the sermons of those times are filled with expressions, whose boldness and singularity, not to call them by a worse name, would be extremely shocking to us at present. The reformed were outrageous in their satires; and too often the preachers, in their sermons, lanced out into the most extravagant declamations. A cotemporary historian, Peter Matthieu, book iii. nevertheless, gives this testimony of the Jesuits: "That there was more regularity, modesty, gravity, and moderation, in their sermons, than in many others." Sauval also speaking of father Gonthier's preaching, greatly commends his eloquence and apostolic zeal. He relates, that Henry IV being one day at the same church of St. Gervase, when father Gonthier was preaching: that preacher, justly scandalized at the irreverence with which he saw the marchioness of Verneuil, and other ladies of her company, talk, laugh, and endeavour to make his majesty laugh, turned towards that prince, and said to him; "Sire, will you never leave off coming accompanied by a seraglio, to hear the word of God, and of giving so unedifying an example in this holy place?" That the king, instead of

N——; for these two gentlemen being present at the reprimand the king gave father Gonthier, they likewise spoke to the father, and charged with insolence and falsehood the person who had dared to say, they had approved of a discourse so full of impertinence. All this so irritated Henry against the impostor, that when I went the next day to desire he would do me justice, “I have discovered the whole mystery,” said he to me; “it is the malicious wit of N—— that has invented all “these stories; but for your sake, I banish him from the “court:” and the order was accordingly signified to him. This affair was much talked of, as may be well imagined: I confess I was ten whole days in perplexity and uneasiness about it.

This, however, was a trifle compared with the confusion which the prince of Condé occasioned. The marriage of this prince with mademoiselle de Montmorency, was so far from stifling the reports at court of an intrigue between Henry and the princess, that it did but the more increase them, as I had always apprehended it would. Two thousand crowns given by his majesty for wedding clothes for the young lady; jewels to the value of eighteen thousand livres, purchased for her, by madam d’Angoulême, of Messier, a jeweller, who lived upon the Bridge-au-change, and whose receipt, of the 29th of May, was publicly known; a great number of other presents and gratuities in money, given to the prince of Condé on account of this marriage, were considered as so many proofs of the correspondence be-

sending the preacher to the bastille, as all those ladies begged of him to do, went again the next day to hear him preach; and that meeting with him as he was going into the pulpit, he told him he was obliged to him for his correction; and that he had nothing to fear: but only desired he would not reprove him again in public.

tween the king and princess, although, to speak candidly, there was nothing in all this which might not be justified. But as I would avoid, likewise, falling into the other extreme with the flatterers of this prince, who affected to maintain in public, that he had not the least regard for the young princess, I continue firm in my first sentiments. This, indeed, was a medium between both, which very few persons kept. The queen and the prince of Condé, who were most concerned in the affair, being inflamed with rage at all these reports, continually whispered in their ears, soon put the whole court into an uproar. All my endeavours to calm the queen were fruitless; she was quite furious; and the prince, who did not restrain himself from showing his discontent publicly, meditated from that moment the imprudent step which he took some time afterwards.

Henry received the first notice of his design, in a note which was sent him to Fontainebleau, whither he went to pass the Easter holidays, and he dispatched it immediately to Paris. This was the purport of it: that the prince, accompanied by his physician, had left Fontainebleau the day after Easter, and gone to lodge at Paris in the house of a Spanish pensionary; that all the night had been passed in deliberating, with great agitation on the prince's side, whether he should not make his retreat instantly to Spain, which his host had prevented him from doing, by making him sensible of the fatal consequences that would attend such an action; that the next morning a purse of one thousand doubloons was brought to the prince, who still lay concealed at that house, with an assurance that the remainder, which was apparently solicited for by his physician, should be

sent him in a little time. This man has been accused of managing the whole affair, because he had already laboured to get the marriage broken off, and make up a match between the prince and mademoiselle de Maïene. He was likewise, it was said, connected with another physician, a Genoese, who had been with Don John, and six weeks before had gone to the count Spinola, at the Hague, from whence he was to go to England. This note agreed with another, which had been sent to Berlinghen, already mentioned, where it was said, that the prince of Condé had obtained letters from the king of England to the States of Holland.

All these informations, which Henry was entreated by the authors to keep very secret, could not make him believe the prince was capable of committing so great an error. His majesty came to Paris in the beginning of May, and, after a short stay, returned to Fontainebleau, whether M. the prince followed him. It is certain, that his behaviour, and his discourse in public, gave room to believe that he only went to brave his majesty. "My friend," said Henry in a letter to me, dated June the 12th, "the prince is here; but he acts like a man possessed: you will be angry and ashamed at the things he says of me: I shall lose all patience with him at last, and I am resolved to talk to him with severity." The king, to punish him, ordered me not to pay him the April quarter of his pension, and to give refusals to his purveyor and all his creditors, who, knowing the gratuities which his majesty had bestowed upon this prince on occasion of his marriage, addressed themselves to me as to the dispenser of them. "If this does not keep him within bounds," said his majesty, "we must think of some other method; for he says the

“most injurious things of me. We will consider together what is to be done, when you come hither.”*

The prince fixed upon me to impart his grievances to: but in what quality, is not easy for me to declare; since, if I may flatter myself that my advice was not indifferent to him, yet, on the other hand, I may have reason to suspect, that, in those assurances of respect and attachment with which, to a person of his rank, one would soften the freedom of disapproving his conduct, he sought for a pretence to advance afterwards, with some appearance of probability, that I did not oppose his design of leaving the kingdom. It is this which obliges me to give an account of the conversation I had with him at my house, whither he came on Wednesday afternoon, when he knew I was not gone to the council.

He entered my closet, bearing in his countenance all the marks of the disturbance of his mind. I was not surprised that, without any other prelude, he began to talk to me of the reasons he had to complain of the king. In my answer, I reminded him of the many obligations his family in general owed to the king; and added, that

* The Memoirs for the History of France speak of this in the following manner: “The king being desperately in love with the princess of Condé, “set every body at work, even her husband’s mother.” The prince complained of this, and desired leave of his majesty to retire with his wife to one of his country houses. The king refused his request in a rude manner, and went so far as to affront and threaten him. It is said, the prince made a haughty reply, and used the word *tyranny*: that the king, laying hold of that word, said, “I never in my life was guilty of an act of tyranny, but “when I caused you to be received for what you were not” The prince was in a passion with his mother for suffering herself to be employed as an instrument to corrupt the chastity of his wife. It was said, that the marchioness of Verneuil, who commonly spoke to the king not as to her master, but as she would to her footman, bantering him on this subject, said: “Are “not you a sad wretch, who want to lie with your son’s wife? for you know “you have told me he is your son?”

himself in particular had received favours from his majesty, which not only deserved that he should sacrifice to them a little resentment, conceived upon a mere suspicion and an imaginary wrong, but also a just discontent. The prince, who could not relish my arguments, entertained me with I know not how many designs, he supposed Henry had formed against him, all which I attributed to the inquietude of his mind, and to suspicions carried too far; and these I thought to dissipate, by representing to him, in such a manner as left him no room to doubt of my sincerity, that his majesty was so far from having a design to proceed to any extremities with him, that he would reflect that he was his near kinsman, only to add to that natural sweetness with which he treated every body, a particular friendship and distinguishing respect for him. And I remember, that instead of allowing, through complaisance for the prince, that Henry was capable of *oppressing an innocent person*, words which were indeed often repeated to me, I told him plainly, that it was commonly those who were most guilty that abused the word innocence, notwithstanding which they could not avoid meeting with the punishment they merited.

The prince, who, after so free a speech, ought to have been upon his guard against me, did not scruple to declare that he was resolved to leave France. These imprudent words appeared to me as the effects only of an inconsiderate rage; and, if I opposed him with firmness, it was because I thought, that, on these occasions, firmness ought to accompany the advice which is given. I told him, that I could not believe he was capable of betraying, in such a manner, his king, his country, his honour, and his duty; that the kingdom, and even the

court, was the only fit residence for princes of the blood; that every where else their grandeur sullied their reputation; that it was even imputed to them as a crime to remain too long in any other place, without having obtained his majesty's permission for it. The prince replying, that such a restraint suited neither with his birth nor rank, I answered, that the laws of the state obliged the children and brothers of the king to as great, or, perhaps, greater strictness of conduct, than the meanest of his subjects: and this I proved to him by examples drawn from the history of Lewis XI the late duke of Anjou, and of Henry himself. It was not in this manner that the prince wished to hear me speak. I perceived that his intention was now, by giving a new turn to his words, to convince me that I had brought him over to my opinion; but, from so sudden an alteration, I drew the most certain proof, that he had really taken that very resolution which his last words would have persuaded me he had absolutely given up.

I had so little doubt of it, that when I was informed the prince, after he quitted me, appeared to be wholly calmed; that he had even complained to the queen of the report that was spread of his having a design to quit the court, and assured this princess that he had not the least intention to do so, adding these words, "I am very well contented with his majesty;" and spoke in the same manner almost publicly; I would not defer a moment waiting on the king, whom I assured, after faithfully relating all that had passed between the prince and myself, that he would not be in France eight days longer. Henry was ready to treat me as a madman, there was so little appearance, he said, that he could live in a foreign country like a prince, without the assist-

ance he received from him; since it was impossible he should be able to carry away any of his effects so privately, but that he might be easily prevented: To these reasons his majesty added what the prince had just said to the queen. "All that you tell me, sire," replied I, "cannot make me alter my opinion; but rather confirms me in it the more: you may be angry with me, and accuse me of obstinacy; but time and the event will show you that I am not mistaken. I see several persons," pursued I, "who are in the secret, and who deceive you, although they are more obliged to you than the prince: but this ought not to seem surprising, since you help to deceive yourself." "You do not name any person," said his majesty, supposing that it was the queen's domestics of whom I spoke, "but I know whom you mean." This was not very difficult to discover. There were more, beside the king and I, who saw that the cabal played a strange part here; for they not only spread a thousand false stories about the king and the princess of Condé through the court, affirming them to be absolutely true, which was indeed the effect of their ordinary malice; but to these they added that detestable artifice, not easy to be described, by which they made these falsehoods serve to render the king in the highest degree hateful to the queen, and forced this princess to abandon herself entirely to their conduct: hence proceeded those plots to which, without her knowledge, they dared to give the authority of her name; hence the motives for a thousand new solicitations, not to defer the ceremony of the coronation any longer.

There was but an interval of four days between the conversation I had with the king, on the subject of the

prince of Condé, and the flight of that prince. On the 29th of August,* at eleven o'clock at night, Praslin entered my chamber just as I was going to bed; he told me that the king wanted me, and that I must attend him immediately. "What can the king mean, cousin?" said I, in the first emotions of my anger, and without giving him time to explain himself, "*pardieu*, he torments me to death: I cannot live; I cannot sleep. I must," pursued I with great impatience, supposing this summons was one of those which, for very good reasons, I might dispense with myself from obeying, "I must rise at three o'clock to-morrow morning to read letters and accounts, which I have received, and must be answered immediately: I must make a memoran-

* The last of November, not the 29th of August, as these Memoirs erroneously say, "The prince," says marshal de Bassompierre, "left the court and went to Muret. which he quitted, accompanied by Rochefort and Touray, a valet de chambre, who carried the princess his wife behind him on horseback, Mademoiselle du Certeau, and a chamber-maid called Philipette, and went to Landrency. The king was at play in his little closet when first d'Elbene, and afterwards the chevalier du Guet, brought him the news of it. I was nearest to him. He said to me, in a whisper, "My friend, Bassompierre, I am undone: this man has carried his wife into a wood, I do not know whether with design to kill her, or to carry her out of France: take care of my money, and go on with the game, whilst I go to learn more particular news." Every body gave over play, and I took an opportunity of returning the king his money, which he had left on the table. I went to him, and never in my life saw any one so distracted, or in so violent a passion." Bassompierre afterwards relates what passed in the queen's chamber, and the advice M. de Sully gave the king, in the same manner these Memoirs do. Henry IV betrayed such violent signs of grief and despair on the princess of Condé's being thus carried away, that some ill-informed writers, such as the author of l'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils, have advanced, that the war he was going to enter upon in Flanders, when he was assassinated, was partly intended to oblige the archduke to deliver up that princess to him. See also Mezerai and other historians.

“dum of all that I am to do to-morrow, of what is to be
“transacted by the council, of what I am to say to the
“king, what directions I am to give my clerks, my se-
“cretaries, and all those who have any offices under
“me: I cannot get all this done before eight o’clock in
“the morning, at which hour I go to the council; judge
“then whether I have any time to lose, and if I can go
“now to the Louvre, from whence I know it will be
“impossible for me to return till two or three hours
“after midnight: I shall have no leisure for employing
“myself in my closet; for the whole day will be taken
“up in giving audience, and in conferences with the
“clerks of accounts and other officers who have busi-
“ness with me.” “I know all this,” said Praslin, “nor
“is the king ignorant of it; for he said aloud, before all
“the company, that I should make you angry by com-
“ing for you at such an unseasonable hour, and at the
“only time when you have leisure to take any rest to
“relieve both your body and mind: but there is no help
“for it, sir, you must come: this is an affair that con-
“cerns him nearly, and he is persuaded, that, if there is
“any remedy for the evil, it is you only who can dis-
“cover it. The man you know of is fled, as, the king
“says, you foretold; and, what is worse, has taken the
“lady along with him.” “Oh,” replied I, “is this the
“business then for which he has sent for me? truly
“there will be a little anger on his side; for, I doubt,
“we shall not agree in our opinions. I know,” added I,
“that Mars and Venus are often in very good intelli-
“gence; yet, if we would have good success in affairs
“that depend upon the former, the latter must some-
“times yield to him; and this possibly may furnish us

“with some good reason for hastening our business: therefore let us go, cousin; I am ready.”

When I came to the Louvre, I found the king in the queen's chamber, walking backwards and forwards, with his head reclined, and his hands folded behind his back: with the queen were present *messieurs de Sillery, de Villeroi, de Gêvres, de la Force, la Varenne*, and some others, leaning against the hangings, and at such a distance from each other, that they could not converse but aloud. “Well,” said Henry, taking my hand as soon as I entered, “our man is gone, and has carried all with him: what say you to this?” I say, sire,” I replied, “that I am not surprised to hear it; and, after what he said to me at the arsenal, I expected this flight, which you might have prevented if you would have believed me.” “I knew you would say this,” replied the king; “but we must not speak of things that are past; let us think only of the future, and let us consider what is to be done now: give me your advice; for I have yet applied to no other person.” “Sire,” returned I, “I am not yet sufficiently well informed of all the circumstances relating to this affair, and have not reflected as much upon it as is necessary I should: I entreat you to let me sleep upon it, and to-morrow I will attend you, and will endeavour to give you the best advice I can: but, if you press me now, I shall say nothing to the purpose; for my judgment is not very clear at present.” “No?” interrupted his majesty, “this is not true; I know you too well: tell me your thoughts immediately.” “It is impossible, sire,” said I; “and, if you persist in pressing me so earnestly, I repeat it again, I shall say nothing to the purpose: I beseech you excuse me till to-morrow.” “Indeed I

“will not,” said Henry; “you must speak now: now therefore tell me what I should do.” “Nothing at all, sire,” I replied; for I was obliged to speak. “How! nothing?” he exclaimed: “this is not advice.” “Par-don me sire,” I resumed, “it is, and the best that you can follow: there are maladies which require time rather than remedies, and I believe this to be of such a nature.” “This declamation is unseasonable,” said Henry with the same impatience; “I must have reasons. Are these yours?” “I have no good ones, sire,” answered I, “if these are contrary to your inclinations. In my opinion, however, the affair does not admit of much doubt about what should be done: it is necessary to wait for further particulars, before any thing is undertaken, that you may fix upon the best expedients; and, till then, I think, it ought to be talked of as little as possible; nor should it appear of any consequence to you, or capable of giving you the least uneasiness.”

I supported this opinion by a reflection which seemed to me absolutely just; and this was, that the good or bad reception which the Spaniards would give the prince, depended upon the impression his flight made upon the king; so that it was not impossible but that they would receive the prince with contempt, to spare the expenses they would otherwise be obliged to, especially if we could make them entertain a suspicion that this flight of the prince of Condé was a thing concerted between his majesty and him. “What,” said the king, shaking his head, “would you that I should suffer a petty prince, my neighbour, to give a retreat, contrary to my inclinations, to the first prince of my blood, without showing any resentment of it? This is a fine advice indeed! I shall not follow it; Praslin shall set

“out,* in a few days, to signify my intentions.” “I told you sire,” said I, “that, not having considered this affair, I should say nothing to your satisfaction. Another thought has just occurred, which will not be of any prejudice to what you purpose to do; but I cannot tell it you till two days hence: however, I am sure you will be better satisfied with it than my first proposal.” His majesty consented to this delay, and, embracing me, said, “Return home and go to bed; sleep till eight o’clock: for I had rather the counsel should not be held to-morrow, and my ordinary affairs be postponed one day, than your health should suffer the smallest prejudice.”

I was not deceived in my conjecture, that the other proposal I had to make to his majesty, concerning the prince’s retreat into Flanders, would please him better

* “Praslin actually went; but the archduke made answer, that he had never violated the law of nations on any occasion whatever; and that he would, on no consideration, begin in the case of the first prince of the blood-royal of France: and soon after sent the prince a sum of money, and an escort to conduct him to Brussels.” *Mem. pour l’Histoire de France*, anno 1609.

The marshal de Bassompierre in his *Memoirs* says, the archduke was so much staggered with M. de Praslin’s declaration, that he sent to desire the prince would only pass through his dominions, without making any stay in them, though he had before promised to receive him: but that afterwards he again changed his resolution, by the advice of the marquis Spinola, and treated the prince with the highest honours. *Bassompierre’s Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 28.

Father Daniel, in his *History of France*, in 4to. Vol. X. p. 437, has thrown new lights on this incident, from the letters in the library of the Abbé d’Estrées, by which it appears, that Henry IV secretly sent the marquis de Cœuvres to Brussels to endeavour to carry off the princess of Condé, and that the attempt miscarried only by the king having discovered this design to the queen, who immediately dispatched a courier to inform the marquis Spinola of it; on which the princess of Condé was removed into an apartment in the archduke’s palace.

than the former. He came to the arsenal three days afterwards to know it. We continued shut up an hour in my closet: but it is not proper to reveal what passed there on the subject. The king, at parting, said aloud, "Adieu, my friend; stay at home and finish my business: but, above all, labour for the success of the proposal you have made me; for I approve of it much more than the advice you gave me in my wife's chamber at the Louvre."

The prince of Condé, thinking it necessary to justify his late action, sent a letter* some days afterwards to

* "The prince wrote to the king, that it was with the utmost regret, and in order to preserve his life and honour only, that he had retired from the court, and not with any intention ever to be otherwise than his majesty's humble relation, faithful subject, and servant. He adds, I will never engage in any thing contrary to your majesty's service, unless I am compelled to it; and beg you will not take it amiss, if I refuse to see, or receive, any letters which shall be wrote to me from court, by any one whatever, except those your majesty may be pleased to honour me with." *Mem. for the Hist. of France, anno 1610.* Siri, who gives a very minute account of this retreat of the prince of Condé, in the *Mem. recond.* Vol. II. p. 32, et seq. adds many other particulars to those here mentioned; but the greatest part of them, in my opinion, deserve little credit; as where he rashly asserts, on the foundation of popular report, that the only motive that induced Henry IV to undertake the war against the Spaniards, was to oblige them to send back the princess of Condé; and that finding them, in spite of his menaces, persist in refusing so to do, he repented of having pushed matters so far. He adds a reflection on the honour of that princess, as if she had been a party concerned in this design against her husband, whom she disliked on account of a natural or acquired infirmity, which would have been sufficient to annul their marriage: that she was extremely desirous to return to France: that, during her residence at Brussels, she continued to receive letters of gallantry from Henry IV, that the prince of Condé was so well acquainted with her disposition in regard to him, that he could not conceal his resentment at it; and that, on his return, he talked publicly of obtaining a divorce from her. The greatest truth Siri speaks on this subject, is, that the king obstinately rejected all the rational advice given him on this occasion by the nuncio, some of his

the king. He likewise sent another, at the same time, to M. de Thou, much fuller and more circumstantial, in which, among other things, he insinuated, that I was the cause of his leaving France. "He ought to accuse his own malice, and that of many other persons who advised him to it," said the king, "and not you. I desire you will write to him, and give him a fair representation of all that has passed; and that you will tell him, with the respect due to his rank, not to his person, the plain truth, and the misery he will infallibly expose himself to, if he does not return to his duty." "I will go home then, sire," said I, (for we were then at the constable's house,) "and draw up the heads of my letter, and will bring it to you." "No, no," replied his majesty, "you must write here; I will make them bring you ink and paper." "But sire," I resumed, "this letter is of consequence: it is necessary I should reflect well upon it, and examine it attentively before I send it; for, if I write what will satisfy you, I must also consider what suits with the prince's rank and my own, that no person, either in France or elsewhere, nor himself, who, you see, seeks for occasions to accuse and blame me, may find any thing there to authorize him. I am not prepared to write so suddenly." Notwithstanding all I could allege in my excuse, I was obliged to write this letter instantly in his majesty's presence; and at one end of the table, near which we were sitting. This letter, though written so hastily, was approved of by the king: and here follow the contents.

counsellors, and particularly the duke of Sully, whom he also commends for his resolute and free manner of speaking and writing to the prince of Condé.

I began first with complaining to the prince, that, after believing he had respect enough for me not to make me a visit with any other intention than to ask my advice, he should now give me occasion to suspect that visit was only to draw me into the commission of some error or imprudence. As to the rest, he knew better than any one else how much in vain he had laid that snare for me; and here I related, (less for him than the public,) all that had passed in the conversation we had together at the arsenal, which the reader has already seen. After this I owned to him, without any disguise, that having, notwithstanding all his art, penetrated into his design, I had informed the king of it, who might have prevented him from executing it, if he had believed me, or been less good and indulgent. I made no apologies to the prince for the advice I had given to his majesty against him, since it was for the good of the state, for the king's advantage, and for his own, however little he might attend to it. I laid before his eyes the consequences of the imprudent step he had taken: I asked him, what he had to expect from the archdukes and the Spaniards, who, considering him as a useless burden upon them, would insult him by their haughty and insolent behaviour, and secretly applaud themselves for it? I conjured him to reflect on what he owed to the consideration of his honour, his virtue, his birth, and duty; and exhorted him to implore the king's pardon as soon as possible. To these entreaties, I added offers of service, which would prove to him my zeal for his interest, and attachment to his person.

It will be easily granted, that such a letter was very extraordinary from a man who, in the supposition of having connived at his flight, might have been struck

dumb with a single word in answer from one of so high a rank as first prince of the blood. Yet I went farther: I told the prince, that the civilities, praises, and acknowledgments, with which he had loaded me at the arsenal, were, to my great regret, but ill repaid by the necessity his letter had reduced me to, of declaring the truth in such a manner as perhaps he might think inconsistent with the respect I owed him: that he ought, in his own mind, to render me that justice I deserved; but that he would now be convinced, that the first step any man takes contrary to his duty, by a necessary consequence makes him violate all the laws of sincerity: lastly, that whatever his intention might be in thus endeavouring to involve me in his crime, I had always held it my glory and my honour to be thus treated by the enemies of the king and the state; and implored heaven to inspire the prince with such sentiments as might efface all remembrance of a fault which had, with too much justice, deserved those two epithets. This letter was published;* but it produced no answer, which entirely destroyed, even in the opinions of my enemies themselves, all suspicions arising from the prince's insinuation.

A dispute arose between Villeroi and de Fresne, on account of the letters† which the king ordered to be

* : The prince of*** refused to receive the letters the duke of Sully wrote to him, telling those who brought them, that he would receive no thing that came from him." L'Etoile, *ibid*.

† In Vol. 9772 of the royal MSS. we find the summons delivered to the prince of Condé at Brussels, in the month of February 1610, by Mess. de Berny and Manicamp, in the king's name requiring him to return to France, under the penalty of becoming guilty of high treason; and the prince's refusal to obey it. The parliament passed an arret against him, by which he was condemned to undergo whatever punishment his majesty should think fit to inflict on him, Henry IV went in person to the parlia-

sent into the provinces, two days after the flight of the prince, to signify his intentions concerning this event. Villeroi composed a form for these letters, which he would have had all the other secretaries of state follow. De Fresne thought the expressions he used unworthy of the dignity of him from whom they were supposed to proceed, which indeed was true; and, as he was generally allowed to write quite as well as his brother secretary, he was afraid of some cavils by sending this letter, as written by himself, to those persons with whom, by his office he was connected. He imparted his perplexity to me, and entreated me to extricate him out of it.

I have nothing to say concerning the affairs of the Protestant body, except that they happily supported themselves against all the calumnies which were invented against them, and which they brought even to his majesty's ear, by advices and discourses of all kinds. A letter was addressed to the king, dated the 31st of July, supposed to be written from Rochelle, in a counterfeit hand, and falsely signed Emanuel de la Faye, in which his majesty was informed, that, in an assembly held at St. Maixant, the minister of Blois, who was called Viguiier, had presented a book, entitled, *the Theatre of Antichrist*,* scandalous, it was said, and outrageous to the last degree: that, in this assembly, it was resolv-

ment, to solicit the passing of this arret; and, as a mark of his grief, he went without state or train: he sat down in the chief president's place without canopy or footstool, the hall being only guarded by the ushers of the parliament, instead of the king's officers.

* The supplement to the Journal of Henry IV, printed in 1736, takes notice of this book, and says that father Gonthier, in a sermon he preached before the king, having made violent invectives, on this account, against the Huguenots, the king reprimanded him, and ordered the book to be suppressed, which, in reality, has never appeared since. Anno, 1609.

ed the book should be printed, after it had been examined by the academy of Saumur; and that it was then actually in the press, notwithstanding his majesty's public prohibition.

This letter* is filled with so many minute particulars, and passion and prejudice appear every where so strongly in it, that the reader will not, I believe, be displeased at my suppressing it. The author certainly flattered himself, that he should make it be believed that the Rochellers fortified their city, upon a supposition that they should soon have a siege to sustain; and that an assembly was held at Marseilles, to oblige the king to call a convocation of the states of the kingdom. Du Plessis was, as they alleged, the author of these plots, all absolutely without foundation, except indeed some murmurs against the gabelle in Mirebelais and Loudunois, in which, however, a very small number of Protestants had any part. With regard to du Plessis, he was the very man who sent the first information of it to his majesty; and I thought myself obliged in honour, though my enemy, as till then he had shown himself to be, to give testimony to his innocence, when I convinced the king, who insisted upon my taking a journey into Poitou to repress the rebellious designs of the Protestants, that his real enemies endeavoured to keep themselves concealed by branding those with that guilt who did not deserve it. Du Plessis thanked me in a long letter, which contained a justification, in form, against all the heads of the accusation.

The following information, which was given me by a gentleman of unquestioned honour, appeared to me more circumstantial, and more worthy of attention. In

* It is to be seen in the folio edition of Sully's Memoirs, Vol. IV. p. 335.

one of the streets of la Fleche called *Des Quatre Vents*, and near an inn, with a sign of the same name, there had lodged, for some months, a man whose name was Médor, a native of Avranche, with a widow called Jane Huberson, who boarded scholars of reputable families, that were under the care of Médor. A niece of this widow, about twenty-six years of age, named Rachael Renaud, who lived with her aunt, and a cousin called Huberson likewise, going one day into Médor's study, found a book there which excited her curiosity: it was finely gilt, very thick, and neatly tied with blue and carnation ribbands. She opened it, and saw that half of it was written, partly with ink, and partly with blood; that it was full of signatures, almost all in blood, among which, surprised as she was, she distinguished that of Médor, of a man named du Noyer, who lived in a village in the neighbourhood of Paris, near Villeroi, and of another man named du Cross, from Billon in Auvergne, who had formerly belonged to the duke de Mercœur. These two men she knew, because they had often come to visit their lodger.

As she was going out of the closet, with an intention to carry this book to her aunt, she met Médor, who, snatching it out of her hands, asked her, in a rage, what she was going to do with it. She told him ingenuously, that it was so pretty she was desirous her aunt should see it; and then asked him the meaning of those signatures in blood, which she had seen in it. Médor, fearing that she had carried her curiosity so far as to examine the writing, at the end of which those names were subscribed, and which contained an association of conspirators against the king's person, told her, that it was an oath, which, for the interest of their religion, a great many zealous Catholics had taken to continue

faithfully attached to the pope. This answer did not hinder the girl from speaking of the book to her aunt and cousin, who were the only Protestants in the house. They thought the discovery of such consequence, that, after getting all the information they could from the girl of what she had seen, they related it to the person who gave me notice of it, with all the circumstances necessary to make a fuller discovery.

The book was immediately taken out of Médor's chamber, and carried, as Huberson and the girl believed, to du Cross, whose direction they gave. He lodged with a man named Druillet, who lived in a house without the city, near the gate of St. Germain, on the right side. With this Druillet several children of quality boarded, and particularly of the province of Brittany; because he likewise had been in the duke of Mercœur's service. Du Cross was the soul of this cabal. An assembly at the Jesuit's college, in which he held one of the chief places, and where he was often employed to deliver public discourses, gave him all the opportunities he could desire, to associate a great number of persons in his black designs: and here it was that he became acquainted with Médor and du Noyer.

To these informations were added all those I was able to obtain myself. The morning after I received the note, which was on October 19th, I sent a person, on whom I could safely depend, to search to the bottom of this affair; but although all his discoveries served to confirm what had been written to me, and that the girl herself offered to maintain her deposition before any person who should choose to hear her, and even in his majesty's presence, the credit and artifice of those who were concerned in this accusation were exerted with

such success, that an affair, which certainly merited a farther examination, was buried in silence. Domestic dissensions, and intestine plots, were the two evils which pursued Henry, after he had extricated himself from the dangers of war, till the last moment of his life. The count d'Auvergne continued still imprisoned in the Bastile: he obtained permission of his majesty to be removed for a change of air, on account of his indisposition, and he was carried to a pavilion on the water, which was at the end of the gardens belonging to the arsenal; but guards were placed upon him during the whole time he staid there. He also obtained leave to speak to the sieur de Châteaumorand.

Henry's health was this year only interrupted with some slight fits of the gout. He did not drink the waters, they being no longer of any use to him. The dauphin, and all the children of France, enjoyed likewise a good state of health. Henry made as long a stay as usual at Fontainebleau: he passed the whole autumn there, after a short excursion to Monceaux, and returned to Paris at the beginning of winter.

BOOK XXVII.

1609—1610.

I. Foreign affairs. Treaty for a truce between Spain and the United Provinces, and of the mediation of the kings of France and England. Article in favour of the prince d'Epinoÿ. Henry obliges the grand duke of Tuscany to make him reparation for the affront offered to his ambassador. Other affairs of Germany, Italy, and Switzerland.—II. Death of the duke of Cleves: An historical and political memorial upon the disputes for this succession. The German princes put themselves under the protection of Henry IV. A conversation between Henry and the duke of Sully upon this subject; and upon the execution of the great design. Henry entertains suspicions of Sully. Success of the negotiations in the several courts of Europe. Henry's indiscretion in disclosing his designs: conversations between the king and his minister upon this expedition.—III. A council of regency established; and other preparations within and without the kingdom. Presages of the approaching death of Henry IV. Conversations between him and Sully upon this subject. Information of a conspiracy; and the affair of mademoiselle de Coman. Ceremony of the queen's coronation. Parricide committed on the person of Henry the Great: Sully's behaviour on receiving the news of it: particulars of his assassination, and upon some of the latter days of Henry's life.

I. **A**LL that remains for me to say of the transactions of this year relates to foreign affairs, which I shall begin with those of the United Provinces. In the month of April the king granted them the sum of three hundred thousand livres. Préaux was sent to the States with this agreeable news, and I received orders from his majesty to send the money to Dieppe, where it was to be shipped on board a vessel belonging to the Republic. Henry thought himself obliged to reward, by this last instance of his bounty, the respect the council of the United Provinces had shewn for him, in giving him the principal part in their accommodation with Spain:

for in this year was at length concluded, the truce,* which had been so long in agitation, and equally desired by all, even by those who had at first appeared most against it; and the prince of Orange himself at last agreed to it.

I shall not here transcribe the treaty which was drawn up at the Hague, the usual place for holding the conferences; but only that of the intervention of the kings of France and England as guarantees for the execution of it. This piece is dated June 27, 1609, and signed, as the former, at the Hague, in the presence of messire Peter Jeannin, chevalier, baron of Changy and Montreu, one of the counsellors of his most Christian majesty in the council of state, and his ambassador extraordinary to the States; and of messire Elie de la Place, chevalier, lord of Russy, viscount of Machaut, member of the king's council of state, gentleman in ordinary of his bed-chamber, and his ambassador in ordinary; both of them in the name of, and as having authority from the most high, most powerful, and most excellent prince Henry IV, &c. Afterward followed the names of his Britannic majesty's two ministers, with the same titles of ambassadors in ordinary and extraordinary: and after them the names of the counsellors and ministers of the several provinces of the Low Countries, with a reciprocal obligation to cause the contents of the said treaty to be ratified, within two months, by the respective parties.

The intervention and guarantee are expressed in the following manner: that the two kings, notwithstanding

* It will be proper, as well on the negociations of this famous truce, as on all the affairs of Flanders mentioned in these Memoirs, to consult the volumes of the king's MSS. marked 9759, 9931, 9005, le Merc. Franc. Matthieu, Vittorio Siri, and the particular histories of that republic.

all their endeavours, having been unable to procure a firm and solid peace between the two belligerent powers, had at length proposed to them a long truce, to which likewise many obstacles were raised, which would probably have blasted the scheme, if their majesties, for the good of the parties, and the security of their states, had not consented to become guarantees and securities for it; and therefore that they promised, and engaged themselves, to assist the United Provinces with all their forces, not only in case of any infraction of the truce by Spain, but also if their trade to the Indies should be interrupted, or suffer the least injury, either from his Catholic majesty, the archdukes, their officers, or subjects. This extended as well to those whom the States thought proper to associate with them in this trade, as to the countries where it was carried on; provided, however, that the republic did not pretend to be judges themselves of the injuries they received in this respect, but left them to the decision of their majesties in a common council, wherein they were to be allowed a vote: in case the judgment should be too long delayed, they were to give orders in the mean time for the security of their subjects. That, in consequence of which, the contracting parties should renew and confirm the private treaties made the preceding year; one on the 23d of January, between France and the United Provinces; and another, on the 26th of June, between England and the same Provinces, by applying to the truce the same agreements, promises, and obligations, which these treaties expressed during the continuance of a peace. which was then believed to be upon the point of concluding. That, in acknowledgment for the guarantee of the two mediating kings, and for the assistance which the states-general had received from them, they engaged to

make no treaty or agreement with the archdukes during the twelve years of the truce, without the advice and consent of their majesties, who promised, on their side, not to enter into any alliance prejudicial to the liberty and safety of their friends and allies: for these were the titles given by the two princes to the States.

The archdukes, that they might not give offence to the king of Spain, refused their consent to its being mentioned in the treaty for a truce, that the Dutch should be secured in their trade to the Indies: they only undertook of their own accord, acting under his Catholic majesty, to allow the exercise of it: therefore the Republic, who sought a security against a new breach of faith from the Spaniards, had it, at last, made one of the positive articles of the treaty for the mediation of the kings of France and England. Henry was not sorry, that, since the war between Spain and Flanders was to end, it should end in this manner.

I ought not to omit mentioning an obligation which, on this occasion, I received, rather indeed from Henry, than the council of the United Provinces, which regarded my nephews d'Epinoy. His majesty, who had often listened to my complaints of the injustice which these children had suffered from the count and countess de Ligne, and who, from the time that they were brought to me in France, had given them many proofs of his kindness, which, I believe, I have mentioned somewhere or other in these Memoirs, was desirous of doing something more for them. Jeannin* had orders

* There is a letter in the cabinet of the present duke of Sully, from the late duke to the president Jeannin, in which, after taking notice of the then state of affairs of the United Provinces, and those of Clèves, he recommends the interest of his nephew, the prince d'Epinoy, to him. This letter is too long to be here transcribed: it is dated at Fontainebleau, the 15th of June, 1609.

to confer with the archduke Albert upon their affairs, to endeavour to engage him in their interest, and to do them justice. Either he or Caumartin delivered to this prince a memorial which I had drawn up, and which explained the claims the family of Epinoy had to the succession of that of Melun. The archduke's answer, which he sent the king in the year 1601, gave me reason to hope for success. Accordingly this prince, finding that his majesty interested himself in the affair, took so much part in it, that, by a provisional agreement, my nephew d'Epinoy,* who, by the death of his brother, was the sole heir, obtained a restitution of great part of those effects which had been forfeited by his father. This agreement, which, through the interest of the king and the archduke, became a writing of great importance, was afterwards the best the princess de Ligne† could make use of, to prove that all the rest of this estate, which she had not been deprived of, had been granted to her.

I thought of an expedient to put an end to these evasions and artifices, which was, to obtain the consent of the council of the United Provinces to insert, in their treaty of truce, an article by which this question was decided in favour of the young d'Epinoy. My request, which I made privately, was granted with great willingness; the article was inserted, and expressed, that upon the refusal, which the princess de Ligne had given to the council of the United Provinces, to make a restitution of the estates of the house of Epinoy, which she unjustly enjoyed, two arbitrators should be named for his most

* William de Melun, prince d'Epinoy, &c. He had many other brothers, who either died young, or without issue. He has been spoken of before.

† Mary de Melun, lady of Roubais, d'Antoing, &c. wife of Lamoral, the first prince de Ligne, governor of Artois, knight of the golden fleece.

Christian majesty, and two for the archdukes, who should meet at Vervins to give a definitive judgment: that, if the votes were divided, they should appoint an umpire; and, if they could not agree upon the choice, his most Christian majesty should be this umpire, to whose sentence the princess de Ligne, and all the other respective heirs, should submit; and the archdukes, of whom these estates were held, should permit the execution of it: and that, in the mean time, the estates of the house of Vassenard, and all others belonging to the prince d'Epinoÿ, within the extent of the Dutch provinces, should be restored to him.

The princess de Ligne used her utmost endeavours to elude the decision. This last clause depriving her of all hope, she appealed to the agreement before mentioned. She alleged, that part of those estates which were required of her, being in the province of Holland, had been charged with heavy taxes; for which she demanded compensation. When she found herself pressed, she affected to abate of her obstinacy, and only requested that the affair might be terminated by any other method than a rigorous judgment, and proposed several herself, especially when she perceived that her nephew was inclined to purchase an agreement with her by the sacrifice of some of his just claims. The archduke seemed to enter with her into all the expedients that could be thought of to make me desist; for I was the person whom, on this occasion, they looked upon to be the real adversary. A marriage was proposed between my nephew and the princess de Ligne's second daughter. This expedient was happily enough imagined, if the mother had been a reasonable woman: but she would not give this daughter a portion equal to that she had given with the eldest. I left it to her

choice, either to resign twenty-five thousand livres a year to d'Epinoy, as a portion for her daughter, or to make him a restitution of his whole estate. Though my nephew, by this offer, lost considerably, yet it was rejected with disdain. The remainder of the year was passed in making and refusing propositions, which all amounted to nothing.

There was again a necessity that his majesty should interpose, which he had the goodness to do, by writing a letter, dated October 19, to the archduke, in which he complained of the princess de Ligne's proceedings, and of the little solicitude he himself showed for the fulfilling that article of the treaty relating to the prince d'Epinoy. As to the agreement which madam de Ligne laid such stress upon, the king observed, that, besides that nothing can be opposed to a determination recorded in a treaty made between sovereigns, it was the opinion of his council, and conformable to the laws of his kingdom, that the authority of any prince which is added to a contract, should not hinder the subject who is injured by it from claiming his right. He desired him to hear what Berny* and Préaux† had to say, whom he had ordered to acquaint him with every circumstance of the affair: and, repeating his solicitations in favour of Epinoy, he declared that he would answer for the fidelity and obedience of his new vassal. He owned that d'Epinoy was willing to purchase an agreement and union with his aunt, at the expense of a small part of his estate; but that himself had been one of the first to advise him not to listen to her while she continued to be

* Matthew Brulart, lord of Berny, the king's resident at the court of the archduke.

† Hector de Préaux, a Calvinist gentleman, governor of Chatelleraut

so unreasonable in her demands. This letter was more in the style of a friend than a king; and in almost all those which Villeroi and Jeanin wrote by his order to the States, the affair of Epinoy was mentioned with great warmth. I likewise urged it on in the letters I wrote to Préaux, from whom, upon this occasion, I received services which I promised him should not go unrewarded.

This year the duke of Bouillon obtained letters of naturalization for his children born at Sedan. The king did not observe, that in these letters, and in the petition presented on this occasion to the chamber of accounts, Bouillon had assumed the title of sovereign of Sedan; and therefore made no opposition to it by his attorney-general. But his majesty repaired this failure, by ordering Jérôme l'Huillier, the attorney-general, to demand an act, by which it was allowed, that his compliance with this petition, and his silence with respect to the titles there assumed, should not injure his rights if he should be able, at any time, by his papers, claims, or records of the treasury of archives, to make it appear that Sedan was anciently a fief depending on that of Mouson, which was part of the crown lands. This act, of the 11th of April, is inserted in the registers of the chamber of accounts.

His majesty sent the duke of Lunenbourg-Brunswick's deputy to me, for the payment of seven thousand crowns, which the king ordered me to give him, without making farther inquiry into it, as the sum was so moderate. I obeyed his commands, and, at the same time, treated the deputy with the utmost degree of politeness. Henry, by such instances of kindness and respect, endeavoured to attach the German princes still more to his interest. I likewise rendered some services

to the duke of Savoy, which produced a letter from this prince to me, and a visit of thanks from M. de Jacop, his ambassador. This deference, added to the visits I was observed to pay to the duke of Savoy's ambassador in return, appeared to my enemies at court a sufficient foundation for suggesting to the king, that the duke of Savoy made the same use of me as he had done of marshal Biron. Henry took care not to tell them that he was acquainted with all my proceedings, and approved of them; but thanked them for the information, and wrote me an account of all they had said, desiring me, at the same time, to bring him the last letters I had received from Turin the next time I attended him.

Another attempt was made upon the city of Geneva this year under the direction of du Terrail,* the same who has been so often mentioned in these Memoirs. He succeeded so ill in it, that he was taken prisoner there, and without any form of trial put to death. He was a man of great understanding and courage; but giddy with ambition, and absorbed in vice; therefore the king was not concerned that justice had overtaken him. As soon as it was known that he was imprisoned, the king was wearied with solicitations in his favour; but the news of his death followed that of his detention so close, that his majesty was not long embarrassed. "We have a happy riddance of him," said he to me;

* Lewis de Comboursier, lord du Terrail, a gentleman of Dauphiny, and a relation of Lesdiguières. The Memoirs for the history of France speak of him as Sully's do. "The king," say they, "whose natural subject he was, had granted him four several pardons; but he had no sooner got a pardon in one pocket," as the king said, "but he had a scheme for a plot ready in another."—The pardon the king would have granted him would not have saved his life. He and la Bastide, a gentleman of Bourdel, who was taken with him, were beheaded at Geneva on the 29th of April.

“he was a dangerous man: ever since I observed that
 “he left off visiting you, and haunting you as usual; and
 “after that murder* he committed in the view of us
 “both, as we stood together upon the balcony, I lost all
 “hope of him.”

The duke of Florence, after the death of the duke his father,† having sent an ambassador extraordinary to Rome to pay his obedience to the pope, he, either by his master's orders, or from his own inclination, or perhaps through contempt, visited the Spanish ambassador before ours. Henry, when he was informed of this affront, resolved to take vengeance for it, and began by revoking an order, which, upon the representations made him by the chevalier Guidi, he had given for the payment of a hundred thousand livres, which were still due to the grand duke. Jouanini, this prince's agent, who fore-

* “On Tuesday the 8th of August, du Terrail, in the king's sight, before the windows of the gallery of the Louvre, killed Mazancy, a brave Gascon officer, whom his majesty had just been speaking to. The king was so much affected with seeing this action, that he was obliged,” as it was said, “to change his shirt twice upon it.” *Mem. for the Hist. of France*, anno 1606.

Du Terrail was obliged to leave the kingdom after this assassination.

† Ferdinand de Médicis, grand duke of Tuscany, who, in 1587, succeeded his brother, Francis Maria de Médicis, died the preceding year. “The king,” says l'Etoile, or the author of the Supplement to his Journal, “in order to acquaint the queen with his death, without surprising her, told her, as he was getting up, he had dreamed he saw the grand duke dead. The queen at first was struck with it; but recollecting herself, she said it was only a dream. ‘But, madam,’ replied the king, ‘I am afraid my dream is true; we are all mortal.’ ‘He is then dead?’ ‘Yes,’ added the king; ‘here is the letter that informs me of his death.’”—This death occasioned a suspension of the usual diversion of the carnival, &c. It was this Ferdinand who made answer to our ambassador, when remonstrating to him on account of his connections with Spain; “Had the king had forty gallies at Marseilles, I would not have done what I have.” *Como II. de Médicis*, his son, is the person here in question.

saw all the consequences of this affair, assembled his friends and partisans to consult together upon the methods they should use to prevent the reparation we had a right to exact, from extending to any insult upon Spain: and as I was thought to be the person who, of all the counsellors, was most capable of inspiring the king with a firm resolution on this head, they agreed that it would be proper for Jouanini to apply to me, and endeavour to soften me.

I readily complied with his intreaties not to speak or act upon this occasion any otherwise than merely to execute the king's orders. There was no necessity for urging Henry to support his just claims, and this Jouanini knew as well as myself. I told him, however, that I was much surprised that a petty prince, such as his master, should presume to regulate the rank of the kings of France and Spain. Jouanini received these words as any other ambassador would have done upon the like occasion; and, to show me that I ought to treat his master with more respect, he entered into a long discourse upon his great qualities and his genealogy, making him allied to the house of Austria, whose eulogium he was going to begin. I interrupted him, saying, that every other person was as capable as himself of settling the true degree of grandeur of the duke of Florence, since it had commenced in our own times; and as for what regarded the house of Austria, I had no occasion for any informations: I who reckoned among my ancestors a daughter of that house,* who

* John de Bethune, lord of Vandeuil, Locres, &c. first of that branch from which the duke of Sully was descended, married Jane de Coucy, allied to the house of Austria. Enguerrand VI, of Coucy, or, to speak more properly, of Guines, bearing the name and arms of the house of Coucy,

died a hundred and fifty years ago; but that it was impossible to make any comparison between that family and the august house of France.

This affair gave rise to much artful management at court, in which the queen seemed to carry too far her tenderness for her relations. The king reproached her several times for it with some severity, and she made me sensible that she accused no other than myself for it. However, this affair produced no worse consequences. The duke of Florence, upon the first complaint the king made to him, protested that he had no part in this imprudent procedure of his ambassador; and declared, that he was willing to make any reparation for it which his majesty should require. He recalled his ambassador, without waiting for the king's request, and commanded him, before his departure, to make an authentic acknowledgment of the fault he had committed, which was published in Rome and in France. Henry was satisfied with this apology, and, to convince the grand duke that he had forgot every thing, he assured him that he would preserve the same sentiments of friendship and esteem for him as for the deceased duke, and gave him the first proof of them by sending to congratulate him upon his advancement to the throne, as all the other princes of Europe had done.

which was extinct, married Catharine of Austria, daughter of Leopold, who is the lady here meant by M. de Sully. He would have spoke more correctly had he said she came into the family of Coucy, to which his became allied. He has also made another mistake in point of chronology; for, instead of saying a hundred and fifty, he should have said two hundred and fifty years; this Enguerrand de Coucy, the husband of Catharine of Austria, having been killed at the battle of Crecy in 1346. See the MSS. of S. Marthe, du Chesne, Anselme, and other genealogists. See also our foregoing remarks on the house of Austria.

Spain had chosen cardinal Zapata to perform this ceremony, and Henry thought proper to make use of a cardinal likewise, that he might avoid an affront like the former: for it is well known what personal prerogatives cardinals enjoy at the courts of Italian princes. I named the abbé de la Rochefoucault to him, who was going to Rome to take possession of that dignity; but his majesty, for that very reason, did not approve of him, as he was apprehensive that this abbé, who they were sensible was not yet named a cardinal, nor would leave France expressly for this embassy, would not be as well received at Florence as an old cardinal: therefore cardinal Delfin was pitched upon by his majesty, who gave him two thousand crowns for his expenses, his eminence not being very rich. Conchini had aspired to this honour, and would have obtained it through the queen's interest; but, for the considerations before mentioned, he would not have acquitted himself of this commission at so small an expense: Henry, therefore, was pleased at his disappointment, as well on account of his hatred to the man, as from a principle of frugality.

Policy, and the interest of his great designs, had perhaps a greater share in the king's complaisance to the duke of Florence, than the consideration of his alliance with him. Those two motives were sufficient to prevent him from ill treating, or even neglecting, the most inconsiderable prince. The hundred thousand livres was again ordered to be paid to the chevalier Guidi, the king only requiring that, in the grand duke's receipts, some considerable sums should be deducted, which he had advanced to don John de Medicis. With this money, Guidi carried to Florence a gold chain, valued at six hundred crowns,

which I presented him with in his majesty's name. Henry likewise showed many other civilities to this Italian; for, whether he remained beyond the Alps, or was again sent to France by his master, the king thought it necessary to gain his friendship.

De Refuge continued still among the Swiss and Grisons in the quality of our agent; but executed this employment so ill, that I thought myself obliged to reproach him by Villeroi for his inattention to the business he was sent to transact. He durst not answer me himself; but to Villeroi he excused his neglect, in not sending the account of the distribution he had made of the money, which was the first complaint I made against him, by alleging that these accounts should have been sent to me by the two clerks, through whose hands the two former distributions had passed, besides those more particular ones, which the treasurers of the leagues were to furnish me with; and that I should certainly receive from them those of the next distribution. With regard to the redemption of debts, which was my second charge against him, he, without coming to particulars, told Villeroi, in his answer, that he had discharged some at different times; nor did he give more satisfactory replies to the other reprimands he received.

After Villeroi had shown me his letter, I wrote to him myself, as I believed the place I filled gave me a right, and even obliged me to do. I told him, that I had not received the four accounts from the clerks he mentioned to Villeroi; but that, if I had, such accounts were not sufficient; that, since the ordinances for payment came only from him, it belonged to him likewise to draw up accounts, wherein every sum of money

should be specified separately, and authenticated by him: that he was obliged to answer for the exactness of the treasurers, and to inform me if they had any blanks in their accounts, which was what was always done by Caumartin, his predecessor: and likewise, that he should not fail to send me, every quarter, the accounts of the receipts given by the treasurers of the leagues, with that of the distribution he had made, divided into chapters. He was continually proposing new methods for discharging of debts, for managing his majesty's money, and for confining his employment solely to the finances, in consequence of which he demanded an exact correspondence with the superintendant. It was not possible for him to find an excuse for the silence he affected with me; nor were his excuses for having not paid any debts during his administration any better. The thing was not more difficult for him, than the person whom he had succeeded. I desired him, therefore, to satisfy me as soon as possible, not by using many words and justifications, that had no force; and which, in affairs relating to money, could not be received, but by just reasons and good effects; otherwise I could not dispense with myself from representing him to his majesty as a man unworthy of the trust he had confided to him.

It was suggested to the grand signior to have a resident at Marseilles for the conveniency of the grana-dines, who passed through that city. The grand vizier mentioned it, by his order, to our ambassador at the porte, and consulted the aga of Cairo, named Ibrahim Mustapha, upon this establishment; a man who, in a very short space of time, had acquired great authority, and many dignities at the porte, and mentioned me to him as the only person at the court of France to whom

it would be proper to address himself. The aga Mustapha was directed to ask this favour of the king, in the name of sultan Achmet, by a letter, to which was added one from Salignac to me, and both were brought by a granadine, whom the grand vizier chose for this employment. Salignac gave me information of all that had passed at the porte upon this subject; and added, that the grand signior would think himself highly obliged to the king for the grant of this favour, which could be productive of no inconvenience to him; and that he could not dispose of the place to any one more fit for it than the bearer, whose probity and good sense were well known to him, and who had formerly passed some time at Marseilles.

II. ONE of the most remarkable and interesting events that happened this year in Europe, was the death of the duke of Cleves, who died about the beginning of it; the news of which no sooner reached the ears of Henry, than he came to the arsenal, where, having barely inquired for me in the first court, he passed on to the garden, without entering my apartment. When he was answered, that I was writing in my cabinet, he turned to Roquelaure and Zamet, and said to them, smiling, "Did not you imagine, that they were going to tell me, that he was either hunting, dressing, or with the ladies? Go, Zamet," he continued, after having given such praise to my diligence as does not become me to repeat, "go, tell him that I am gone up the great walk, and desire him to follow me immediately to the large balcony, where we are not wont to be silent; I have much to say to him: for I have heard, that the duke of Cleves is dead, he has left all the world his heirs; the emperor and all the princes of Germany claiming the succession." Zamet met me coming out

of my closet, having been already told that the king had passed by. The news of the day, and every consequential incident, afforded matter for above an hour's entertainment in the balcony. His majesty thought it a subject well worth my pains to compose, upon what I had to say on this head, a memoir, which I shall here insert, with the addition of such informations as I received a few days after from Bongars, who, at that time, had a particular charge to be strictly watchful of our interest in Germany. I showed it all to Henry; nor do I believe the reader will be displeased to find an event, which all Europe, attentive to his majesty's designs, looked upon as a signal of a general war, treated with that perspicuity it deserves, both with respect to its justice and expediency.

But it is first necessary to explain how this little state, made, at the last duke's death, out of four or five great fiefs, all having the titles of principality, was formed. A count of Juliers, who lived about the year 1130, united this county to that of Berg, by marrying an only daughter of a count of that name. The county of Gueldres was afterwards united to it in the year 1350, by the marriage of Reynold, or Renould, first duke of Gueldres, with the heiress of William, first duke of Juliers. About the same time, one Adolphus de la Mark resigned the archbishopric of Cologne, and the bishopric of Munster, to support his pretensions as heir of Mary his mother, countess of Cleves, against his cousins, d'Erkel and Perweis, who were also sons of Cleves, but on the female side; and succeeded in his claims, either by purchasing the right of the second son, who was nearer of kin by one degree than he, or by the assistance of the emperor Charles IV and the states of the country.

The duchy of Cleves having thus passed into the house of la Mark, those of Juliers and Berg were afterwards re-united to it in the person of John duke of Cleves, count de la Mark, who, in 1496, married the daughter of William duke of Juliers and Berg. The dutchy of Gueldres was at that time dismembered, because that Arnold d'Egmont, who possessed it in right of his mother, Mary d'Erkel, daughter to N—— d'Erkel and Jane of Juliers and Gueldres, had sold it, in 1472, to Charles of Burgundy, with whose daughter it went to the house of Austria; a disposition that was vainly contested by William of Juliers, to whom it was left by will by Charles d'Egmont, grandson of Arnold, the house of Austria maintaining itself in possession of the dutchy by force of arms. This custom of feminine fiefs, received in all the cantons, supports the opinions of those who believe that the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, which fell into the house of Austria, by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Maximilian, are not the only female fiefs.

The emperor would not allow that Cleves, Juliers, Berg, la Mark, Ravensburgh, and Ravestein, of which John William died possessed, were female fiefs; on the contrary, the claims, which he pretended to these fiefs, were founded only upon proofs, which he was said to have had, of their being all masculine fiefs. This contest was not a point absolutely new. The contradiction of the dispositions of the different sovereigns of this little territory, which at different times had been received by their subjects, to the declaration of some of the emperors upon this head, had long made it a disputed point, the entire decision of which had been by both parties referred to the death of the last male heir of that house, which at length happened. To canvass this

point of right more properly, it is necessary to search into the archives of that principality, by which means we shall be acquainted with the state of the last duke's family, and find out with what truth Henry said, that the duke of Cleves's succession belonging to almost all Germany.

The arguments urged in this affair, by the interested princes, against the emperor, were drawn from the many testamentary and matrimonial papers, as well as several other writings, both public and private, which received their authority from the solemn acceptation of the states of the country, the chief of which were these: First, an ordinance of Adolphus the first duke of Cleves, count de la Mark, &c. received in all his towns, anno 1418, whereby the principality was given to the duke's eldest son, and to him only, his brothers being excluded from any share in it; and, in default of male issue in him, to his eldest daughter, exclusive of other daughters. There was a like edict of William duke of Juliers and Berg, count de Ravensburgh, John duke of Cleves, count de la Mark, in 1496, on account of the union of their territories, by the marriage of Mary, only daughter of the first of these princes, with John son of the second. There was another ordinance of the said John of Cleves, and Mary of Juliers, in 1526, about which time there was a marriage between their eldest daughter Sibylla to John Frederic, count, and since elector, of Saxony, to which disposition William himself, son of John and Mary, subscribed in 1542. In the year 1572, William duke of Juliers and Cleves,* &c. father of the last duke, accomplished a match between his eldest daughter, Maria Eleonora, and Albert Frederic of Brandenburg, duke of Prussia; and, in the

* He died in 1592.

marriage articles, he reserved the entire succession to her in the same form, in case of the extinction of the male line in his family. Two years after, Ann, sister of Maria Eleonora, espoused duke Philip Lewis, the count palatine, at Neuburgh, with the same respect to the rights of eldership in the female line: The contract was concluded at Deux-ponts, and signed by the count Lewis, afterwards elector palatine, by William, landgrave of Hesse, and duke John, count palatine. The same contract was ratified a second time in 1575, by the same prince William; at which time, duke Philip Lewis complaining that two hundred thousand florins, which was the portion of the younger sisters, was too slight a recompense for renouncing such a succession, his kinsman, the duke of Cleves, insisted upon an augmentation of one hundred thousand for each of them, on which condition Ann of Juliers made a solemn renunciation of it the same year. Duke John, count palatine, de Deux-ponts, about four years afterwards married Magdalen, the third daughter of William of Juliers, making the same renunciation in favour of the eldest of his three sisters as duke Philip Lewis, his eldest brother, had done: Lewis, elector palatine, William, landgrave of Hesse, Philip Lewis, count palatine of Neuburgh, also agreed thereto. This was the fourth renunciation of the duke of Neuburgh. Lastly, Sibylla, the fourth of these princesses, married Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgaw; upon which occasion it was natural to suppose, that the prince their brother would not have forgot to insist upon the Austrian prince's* making the same renunciation with his other three brothers-in-law: nevertheless, it appeared, that, partly because this prince, who had no children, was become

* He died at the age of forty-seven.

a valetudinarian; partly, that the portion-money was not ready; and, lastly, because the government was managed very strangely; the duke of Cleves died, before his fourth brother-in-law had made the same renunciation as the rest. Such were the rights of the four princes, the duke of Brandenburg and Prussia, the count palatine of Neuburgh, the count palatine de Deux-ponts, and the marquis of Burgaw.

The emperor alleged the following examples in his favour. In the year 1483, imagining the dutchies of Juliers and Berg had, by the death of duke William, fallen to the empire, he bestowed them, by his own absolute will, on Albert duke of Saxony, to reward him for his services. Maximilian, the first son of Frederic, ratified and extended this donation to the person of Ernest, elector of Saxony, brother of Albert, in the year 1486. He confirms it again in 1495, as at that time he stood in need of the princes of Saxony: but this consideration no longer subsisting, in the year 1508 the emperor left William of Juliers at liberty to dispose of his own estate, either to Mary, or such other of his daughters as he liked best. William dying in the year 1511, the elector of Saxony intended to take advantage of the emperor's donation, and to deprive the duke of Cleves of Juliers, the heiress of which he had married: but, when he endeavoured to fix Maximilian on his side, that emperor, who feared nothing so much as the duke of Cleves throwing himself into the arms of France, refused to interfere, and advised the elector to patience, giving him only general promises that he should lose nothing thereby. Moreover, when John Frederic, elector of Saxony, married Sibylla, daughter of John duke of Cleves and Juliers, in the year 1526, Charles V expressly confirmed the right of that princess, and acted

in pursuance thereof: for when, in 1546, he made peace with duke William of Juliers, whom he had vanquished, on condition that the duke should marry Mary of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans and Hungary, he allowed in the marriage contract of this princess, who was his niece, that her daughter should succeed to the dutchies of Juliers, &c. in case she should have no sons; which was also admitted after him by Maximilian II in 1566. It is true that the reigning emperor, though strongly solicited, in 1602, by the duke of Neuburgh to confirm that constitution of his predecessors, constantly refused it; and the only reason he gave for such refusal was, that he could not pretend to prejudice any person's right.

After this, the reader will easily discern a very distinguishing difference between the justice of the pretensions of the two parties, much to the advantage of the lawful heir, but very unfavourable to the Austrians; the former grounding their claim on a series of regulations unanimously and uniformly received; the latter only producing grants of pure power, which do little honour to the aulic council, and, moreover, by their variation and contradiction, so unstable, as scarcely to found any right.

However, the duke of Cleves was no sooner dead, than each party began to think seriously of maintaining its right. The emperor Rodolphus gave the investiture of Juliers and Cleves to the archduke Leopold of Austria, a step he would not have taken, had it not been to be beforehand with his most Christian majesty. This step was made in the name of Leopold, who declared by his deputy to the king, that his intention in entering upon Cleves, was neither to do any thing that could be in the least prejudicial to his majesty's interest, nor yet

to treat the princes, his competitors, with rigour; that he should be contented, provided they behaved to his imperial majesty as they ought upon this occasion, and entreated the king not to enter into a discussion of an affair in which he himself was alone concerned with them.

Henry's answer to this deputy was in very general terms. He was surprised, that all this time he had heard nothing of the other princes, who ought to have been the first to address him; nor was he less so at the information received from Hottoman, that none of them thought of levying troops, as if they could hope to obtain any thing otherwise than by force of arms; but they soon saw what part they had to take: and if it was true that his majesty, in slightly reproaching them for their silence, took the first step, they followed it so well, that, having invited Boissise, Bongars, and the king's other agents, to their council, they appointed an ambassador to intreat his majesty, in their name, to support them against the archduke, or rather against the emperor, which ambassador had good reason to be satisfied with the success of his commission. But, before we give a detail of ensuing facts, let us make some reflections upon the real political interest of France at this juncture.

These six cantons, or small provinces, Cleves, Juliers, Berg, la Mark, Ravensburgh, and Ravestein, were so far from being indifferent to France, that she was rather interested in them in a very peculiar manner, for several reasons, of which their strength and riches were not the least. They lay upon our frontiers; the competitors for them were not only near, but formidable, neighbours; at least the emperor was so. This was reason sufficient not to let them fall into every hand. The war, raised for their possession, might become general throughout

Europe, consequently reach us against our will. This would certainly be the case, were the United Provinces, whom they particularly and necessarily influence, only concerned; their connexion being so evident, that giving these disputed provinces to our friends, is, as it were, taking all Flanders from our enemies; as, on the contrary, leaving them open to the invasion of the house of Austria, were to expose the whole United Provinces to destruction: for I know not how otherwise to call the necessity to which they would be reduced, had they none but enemies for their neighbours, whose favour they must court by repeated sacrifices, which must terminate absolutely in their ruin. The truth of this was never more fully proved than from the advantages under which the States laboured, when the duke of Cleves, even but privately, supported the Spaniards. Is it prudent to suffer so useful and so expensive a work to be destroyed, when about to be completed? and let me add, with sincerity, a work which, in spite of all our efforts, has, by the last treaty between Spain and the States, been not a little shaken.

If from this point of view we pass to his most Christian majesty's vast designs upon all Europe, what better means is there of engaging in them those powers, who could not be otherwise reconciled to them? This is the surest way of attaching to us all the princes of the empire, of restoring the liberty and dignity of the Germanic body, giving a mortal blow to the imperial authority, and striking the whole house of Austria with consternation: and this advantage, which France, for her own private interest, ought at any rate to have purchased, she shall enjoy, as the effect of disinterested generosity towards persecuted princes, without either jealousy or envy.

To this it may be objected, that these princes have hitherto shown themselves very averse from entertaining these notions of us, if we may judge from their evident unwillingness to be obliged to us, even when forced to allow that, without our assistance, they can do nothing: but, after all, this is no more than what unavoidably happens in the beginning of a difficult complicated affair, wherein many persons are concerned; for in such schemes, their first consideration is to weigh their interest with their powers. Even when we know what is to be done, we are not agreed with respect to the manner of doing it; especially in confederacies; where opinions multiply in proportion to the number of parties concerned: besides, I insist, that this irresolution of the German princes, from whatever motives it proceeds, ought not to prevent his majesty from taking part with them. I lay it down as a maxim, that in all important affairs, which tend to the general good, it is to the cause only, and not to the persons, we must be attached: for the former presents but one single view, and that always the same; whereas the latter is so subject to change, and presents such a variety of hateful objects, that, closely to consider them, would give us a disinclination to the most useful and necessary enterprises. Politically speaking, we ought always to be content with having removed obstacles, without being deterred from proceeding, by any difficulties that may remain, and time of itself will remove: but with this restriction, that I speak of designs whereof the contrivers need not be ashamed; such was ours in supporting the heir to the duke of Cleves, and settling the balance of Europe. We have then only to begin; each moment will furnish us with fresh resources: the princes, now so backward and irresolute, will acquire courage from time and the

flush of success; and the ardour of war will inspire them with those sentiments of our generosity, which they are to be condemned for not having at first entertained.

Behold a motive in favour of those who, though they approve of our generosity, yet are reduced perhaps to wish that it may not be merely gratuitous on our side. Whatever success our arms may have in conjunction with those princes who form pretensions on the succession of Cleves, yet still these princes have certain fears, that one day or other, they shall be divested of all their possessions by the emperor, whenever the situation of things come to change. Is it a rash conclusion to imagine, that this fear, joined to the reflections they made, on the difficulty of preserving provinces divided amongst them into so many fragments, so little conducive to their respective utility, so desirably tempting to their enemies, especially to a king of France of an enterprising disposition, should not induce them, one day or other, to enter into an accommodation with his most Christian majesty, whether they received the value of these territories in ready money, or in some equivalent in tracts of land, for example, in the heart of France, as in Berry, Bourbon, Marche, and Auvergne? Now, supposing this to happen, what advantages must accrue to France in this double connexion of interest and dependency, which will unite part of Germany with her for ever? And what cannot be denied, is, that the present succours, which his majesty shall grant to these princes, will be a pledge to them to demand them for the future, in order to preserve themselves in their new acquisitions, a request which the king can pay on demand. Many people may think, that what I have been saying is purely chimerical; and perhaps I may surprise several, by informing

them, that the thing, far from being absolutely impossible, as has been imagined, had been long in agitation by third persons; and that on the day it produced itself, by the concurrence of causes so favourable, was on the point of being proposed to the princes concerned, and might very probably have been accepted by them.

But, to leave these public and private considerations, let us consider the thing more simply. The king of France had already engaged himself to undertake the support of those princes, had neglected nothing to attach them to him; had offered them his assistance at all times; had declared, in terms sufficiently high, that he would allow no one to use them ill; and had also ordered his troops to advance to the frontiers; so that it was a point of honour and justice of long continuance, and it was inconsistent with his character to recede. Our kings have been rarely insensible to this impulse of generosity, which induces them to support unfortunate princes. This was not precisely the present case. The persons in question had rendered real services to his majesty, and shown, on all occasions, that nothing but want of power hindered them from performing greater. It became Henry therefore, as a friend and as one obliged, to recollect all that they had done for him in his days of distress. When Francis I aided Philip, landgrave of Hesse, uncle to the present, to restore duke Ulric to the possession of the dutchy of Wirtemberg; when Henry II joined Maurice, elector of Saxony, to deliver the German princes oppressed by Charles V, their personal honour only, and that of their crown, induced them to take these steps under very considerable inconveniences. They had fewer inducements than Henry the Great, the motive of affection and gratitude only, more powerful indeed than any others.

And here I may positively contradict those who complain of involving his majesty, out of pure good will, in a war with Spain, capable of inflaming all christendom, merely on account of some foreign interest, which might be adjudged without drawing the sword. These are equally ignorant of the nature of the thing, and the consequences of the undertaking. They will at length allow, that, in the present conjuncture, the enterprise, which has for its object the assurance of the succession of Cleves to the true heirs, is an affair of such prompt execution, that the public will hardly know of it, but by the effects: that Spain, by making peace with her own subjects, a peace by which (such is their ruinous situation,) they are bettered in no respect, hath afforded us a proof of such a political weakness, and exhausted condition, that she must submit to the laws of an imposed neutrality: that the emperor is no longer in a condition to dispute with us, he being defrauded of his succours from one part of Germany; and we, on the other hand, having more means to act than we had for a considerable time. In short, it is a scheme which ought to cost France little more than to say she will execute it. The event hath justified all this beyond contradiction.

This, therefore, is properly an affair of no consequence, if we consider it as respecting only the business of Cleves; and they who talk in another manner, do it certainly only for this reason, that, speaking according to the rules of policy, it is only an introduction to another more illustrious and extensive, which Europe has observed to be formed by his majesty, for the depression of the house of Austria. I am so sincere, as readily to allow that this business must be done at

once, and such was the advice I gave to my master, who was of the same opinion with myself. Of this I can only convince those who, like me, will examine the affair without passion or prejudice, and of those men I hold myself certain, because their opinion will be the result of every reflection that can be made upon the different schemes by which this design may be carried on. I will give an account of them, such as they rose in my own mind, when I was most deeply engaged in those considerations.

The first opinion, and the least plausible, is to sit quiet and see the parties concerned fight out their quarrel, or at least assist our friends only with our counsels. As policy will always direct us not to stand unarmed to look upon those that are at war, it would be necessary to keep a body of troops upon the frontier, if for no other purpose than to take advantage of any change which might happen from time to time. By taking this side, therefore, we make no alteration in our expenses, but that we are obliged to continue them longer than if, by engaging vigorously, we should put an end to them at one blow.

I say the same thing of the second scheme, which appears on the first view sufficiently specious, that is, to support the princes against the house of Austria; not openly, but by secret means, as we have already done in the war of Flanders. The peace subsisting in other respects among all the other powers of Europe, there was reason to fear, lest these private succours should be too weak to enable our allies to resist the two branches of the house of Austria united against them, which is the end to be kept always in view, as is generally agreed; and, in this case, we should have been

obliged to keep at all the three points of land where their contested country borders upon France and Flanders, a body of forces, consisting of at least four thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, advantageously posted upon our own ground, or in the neutral country, where, however, they were to have performed no act of hostility, but only to have guarded the passages, kept the enemy at a distance, and prevented the total ruin of those in whose favour we engaged: in this case the expense would have been great, and its consequence only the protraction of that war, which, by engaging vigorously in it, might be finished at a blow. It is said in a political proverb; *He that gives soon gives twice: to which I shall add another; He that gives only half gives twice, and gives nothing.* Of this we have a recent example in the revolt of the United Provinces, that this manner of supporting an ally, which, upon the whole, is equally chargeable with a quick and powerful assistance, has no other effect than to force them sooner or later upon an accommodation, when we might have withdrawn them all at once from the dominion of Spain. If this be all the advantage which our alliance will procure to the princes of Germany, we oblige them but little, or not at all, there being this difference between them and Holland, that under whatever pretensions a treaty is offered them, it can only be intended as a lure, by which the emperor will draw them within his power, and destroy them; and who can tell that we shall not ourselves feel the consequences? It was a just expression of Bongars, *That Leopold in Juliers, is a ferret in a warren.* This scheme, therefore, is of no other use than to save the king a little personal trouble, who at most would be under no necessity to go farther than Chalons or Rheims.

Between this plan and that of a general combination against the house of Austria, another has been contrived of a middle kind, of which the last Savoy expedition may be given as an instance. In this it is laid down as a supposition, that the allies on each part act as if they had agreed amongst themselves to support the cause only so far as may be necessary to gain the point openly debated, and without pretending to infringe what they had promised for themselves in the treaty of Verbins. If this is not a mere supposition, it appears at least to be a scheme of measures that would be long, expensive, and perplexing, which must begin by a discussion of the proportion of troops, which each of the allies must furnish; and then an inquiry after funds that may support these troops for two years at least, of which the first year, and the three first months of the next, will be spent in going and coming, and settling operations. The winter is severe in that country where the war is to be carried on; and, that the army may not be ruined, the cold must be at an end before any action commences. In an enterprise where the king will not be at the head, as chief of the army, it will be sufficient for him to put the troops designed against Cleves under a prince or a marshal of France; but he must, nevertheless, make the proper preparations, and advance the necessary money, of which the greater sums will be required, as he will have the appearance, however he may endeavour to avoid it, of supporting all this burden alone, or nearly alone. He will be likewise obliged to keep three thousand men in Dauphiné, and the same number in Provence, in Languedoc, and in Guienne. I can then see nothing better to be done, than to choose a certain number of places so situated

as to be able to defend one another, and to serve as a chain to join the country of Cleves with France and the United Provinces; and to fortify these cities, which will again be a considerable expense.

Thus all these reflections bring us back to the first expedient, as the most efficacious, to keep measures no longer with Spain; to treat the house of Austria, as the general enemy of Europe; to raise it rivals and adversaries on every side; to pour strong armies upon it; to claim again the country of Cleves; and, when we have made the demand, to do ourselves justice, by seizing upon it, and upon all the places which shall be judged sufficient for the common cause, upon the side of Luxembourg, Limburg, Aix, &c. at the same instant to extend our forces, and cover the frontiers of the Alps and Pyrenees: in a word, to set up the standard, and show to all the world that the day is at last come, for which the king of France has been preparing so many years, and with so much care; that this prince will show himself now proceeding under the direction of honour, armed to revenge one part of the world, for the attacks of an unjust and haughty power; and who then will refuse to follow him? We are assured by our correspondents of almost all Italy and Germany; we take along with us the United Provinces, showing them their enemy by our power removed from their frontiers; we shall untie the hands and the tongues of those powers who are now restrained by fear; and, if our endeavours are not equally supported on all sides, the general resentment, which we may now make use of, will secure us from being thwarted by more than a very small number.

It must be expected that the house of Austria will move heaven and earth to avert or to sustain a blow that threatens its ruin; but when an exact view is taken of

all the support which she can be supposed to have, either from herself or her allies, if it be generally confessed that Europe is in a state of agitation from which it cannot be set free, but by long and cruel wars, which will perhaps restore its liberty, and perhaps take it away for ever; can she choose a better time for the determination of her fate than this, when the hazard is least, and the success most likely? This is what I have now to say, without anticipating the particulars which I have promised to give of the great designs of Henry IV, and the manner in which they were to be put in execution.

It was the partisans of Spain, the supporters of the Old League, the enemies of the Protestants, and the disaffected French, jealous of the king's glory, and the kingdom's prosperity, who used their utmost endeavours to dissuade his majesty from engaging in those great designs, which he had formed; but finding that all their efforts had proved ineffectual, and that he was upon the point of carrying them into execution, they exerted all the arts which yet remained. They took advantage of Henry's propensity to pleasure, and sought to raise a conflict in his mind, between his desire of fame and those inclinations which made a soft and voluptuous life too alluring. Again they endeavoured to fill him with suspicions of the whole body of Protestants in general, and of me in particular: they placed before his eyes his kingdom torn to pieces by factions, who eagerly expected a war, at a time when they might act their treasons with impunity; and the princes his associates, as artful deceivers, who laughed at his vain projects. There were some moments when Henry, though upon his guard against this sort of artifice, suffered himself to be shaken by it; and I myself perhaps contributed to discourage him without knowing it, by representing

to him, that a prince, who had expanded his heart to entertain designs so noble, ought to begin the execution of them, by shutting out all fondness for trifling amusements, and expenses, which had only mere conveniency in view: that, on a like occasion, Ferdinand, and Isabella of Castile, and several of our own kings, had lessened the expenses of their household; as likewise those of the queen. In a word, I told him that he ought no more to think of pleasure, but in vanquishing his enemies: or, at least, till victory was his own.

It happened very fortunately, to fix the wavering mind of Henry, that the German princes of their own accord, and in opposition to the emperor, held an assembly at Hall, in Suabia, to deliberate upon the means of restoring the circles to their former liberty. They met there on the day appointed, to the number of eighteen or twenty.* The Venetians, the prince of Orange, the States of Holland, and the duke of Savoy, who had at last taken a resolution to engage in the common cause, sent deputies thither to represent them; the manifestoes, which were carefully circulated, joined to the public discourse; and what was privately intimated by Boissise,† and other agents of his majesty, had so good an effect, that it was publicly deliberated to stop the progress of the house of Austria; and it was resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to his most Christian majesty, in the name of the assembled powers, to offer him all their forces, and to demand a promise of his, when required. These ambassadors were appointed, and set out directly.

* See the names of these princes, M. de Boissise's speech, the manner and resolutions of this assembly, in Vol. 9765, M^S. R.—Mem. d'Etat de Villeroi, Vol. III. p. 230, et seq.—Merc. Franç. anno 1610. Siri, ib. Vol. IV. p. 68.

† John de Thumery de Boissise.

Henry had just given them their first audience, when he came to the arsenal to tell me all they had said and offered, and to consult with me upon the answer he should give to their proposals. He desired me to consider the matter attentively, while he went to dine at Zamet's; adding, that he would return, and pass part of the afternoon with me in my garden, where he appointed me to meet him.

We met there accordingly; and Henry taking my hand, ordered every one to retire, and went to the terrace, which was the place where we usually held our most serious conversations. "Well," said his majesty, "what do you think of our affairs; for some are of one opinion, and some of another?" This appearing to me a favourable opportunity to confirm him in his resolution, I showed him plainly, that those who opposed it were doubtless excited to do so by secret motives, which I seemed to be ignorant of; since, if we examined things in three principal points of view, namely, with regard to his own person, the state of affairs within his kingdom, and of those without, there were no difficulties to be comprehended; for, without flattery, he was, in the opinion of the French nation, superior to the greatest warriors and statesmen of his age: and that such a school could not fail of producing men excellent in both capacities, as it had already done, which would assist him in bearing the weight of a new burden he was preparing for himself and them. With regard to the affairs at home, there were neither princes, grandees, nor cities in his kingdom, which were in a condition, who were disposed, or had the means of retarding his enterprise, much less to presume to attack him, when they saw him at the head of all the forces of Europe: and, besides this, he was going to open a theatre where

those braggarts would find occasions of signalizing themselves much more gloriously than in dark plots, where nothing was to be gained but infamy: and, lastly, as to the affairs without the kingdom, the difficulty of uniting so many powers in the same design, which had hitherto been considered as the only one to be feared, would be happily removed in a very short time.

“And now, sire,” said I, “all that remains to be considered, is, whether you have the means of continuing the war as long as it is necessary upon the same footing as you were going to begin it: for I see plainly, that France is the hinge upon which all must turn: therefore, I think it fit to tell your majesty, that with regard to the chief point, which is money, provided your war continue only three years, and that you have not occasion for more than forty thousand men, I will supply you with money sufficient for them, without laying any new tax upon your people; and as for other things, such as provisions, ammunition, and artillery, I will show you such a quantity of them, that you shall acknowledge there is enough; and then, I believe, we shall make war in such a manner, that of the three standards, white, black, and red,* we shall not need to display any but the first, and that once for all: the fate of those who first resist will be a lesson for all the rest.” “But not to interrupt you,” said his majesty to me, “pray, how much money have I? for I never yet knew exactly.” “How much do you think you have, sire?” I replied. “Have I twelve millions?” said he. “A little more,” said I. “How! fourteen?”

* By this expression, the author means, that no prince or state would refuse to join their forces to those of the confederates, after their intention was once made known, and after they had punished the first who should endeavour to oppose them.

resumed he, going on still augmenting it two millions more each time, because my constant answer was *a little more*, till he came to thirty millions. "Oh! I ask "no more," cried he, embracing me in a transport of joy. "I have drawn up a paper," said I, "by which "your majesty will find that you may depend upon a "new fund of forty millions extraordinary, without en- "croaching upon the usual expenses of your household "and the state, upon a supposition, however, that my "economy is not thwarted." "And where is this paper?" said Henry precipitately. "I will give it you, sire." I replied, "whenever you please, written with my own "hand."

I afterwards showed his majesty a way how to be assisted, both in men and money, by his allies, provided that he would continue fixed in this part of his designs, in pursuance of which, as we had agreed, he would enrich them with all the conquests he gained from the house of Austria, without reserving any thing for himself. "How!" said he, "would you have me expend "sixty millions in conquering territories for others, and "keep nothing for myself? And pray what is to become "of Spain? you say nothing of her." "Spain, sire," I replied, "is to remain as she is: we must not take any "thing from her king: she must serve as a check to "keep all those whom your liberalties have enriched "under the shadow of your protection: a king of Spain "being always powerful enough to oppress them separately, when no longer supported by you, they will "never fail in the gratitude and respect they will owe "you." I likewise, without having recourse to that general maxim, that too great extent of territory rather weakens than strengthens a government, easily brought Henry to acknowledge, that many inconveniences would

attend his appropriating the conquered countries to himself; that it would be a subject for eternal hatred and jealousy; and, all things considered, the greatest and most solid advantage he could acquire by his conquests, if he distributed them with equity, was, a right of being regarded as the sole benefactor and arbitrator of Europe.

What I most earnestly recommended to him, was, to guard against every possible reverse of fortune; as, for example, if he should be abandoned or betrayed by his allies, to have it always in his power to bring back his armies into his own kingdom, not only without danger, but with honour; to facilitate which, nothing was more necessary than to build forts at proper distances on the road of Cleves. To this piece of advice, I added another, which was, to provide great plenty of provisions in the neighbourhood of those provinces; for, besides that it was not easy to carry them through a country so enclosed and crossed by rivers as that was, the whole district was divided among several little princes, who had already gathered in the fruits of the present harvest, great part of it being pillaged before: that it would be scarcely possible for an army to subsist there fifteen days, without being obliged to have recourse to the magazines of those princes, where every thing would be set at so high a price, that all his money would scarcely suffice to purchase what was wanted. I therefore told his majesty, that I would, if he consented to it, send for the merchants with whom I used formerly to treat, when I had any great enterprises in hand, and would agree with them for every thing we had occasion for, at a reasonable price.

The king, at parting, collecting in one view all that I had said to him, told me, that he was going to consi-

der of the resolution it was proper for him to take, and desired that I would not neglect to examine every thing with the deepest attention; that he would come very often and confer with me; and that I might begin to make all those preparations I had mentioned; by which I concluded that I had obtained part, at least, of what I desired.

I sent for the merchants of Liege, Aix, Triers, and Cologne, with whom I made the following agreement: That they should furnish me, in the space of three months, with all sorts of ammunition, provisions, forage, and warlike stores, and send them to that part of the frontier near Cleves, which I should appoint. I had drawn up an exact list of every thing which was necessary for an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse, at the same price they bore in the fair which was in the month of October; that I, on my side, should advance them the sum of six hundred thousand crowns, which would remain in their hands a year at least, giving them at Paris a million for security of this sum, which was to indemnify them for the expenses of purchase, selling at loss, waste, and other accidents.

The king was so well pleased with my proceedings, that he ordered me to put the finishing hand to them, and, in the overflowings of his joy, recounted all to Sil-lery, Villeroi, and Jeannin, and afterwards to the count of Soissons, cardinal Joyeuse,* the duke d'Epernon, and several others, some of whom applied themselves with such malice and dexterity to make him believe that I had drawn him into my snares, by sending those magazines out of the kingdom, which I had long wished for an opportunity of doing, to appropriate them to myself, that this prince, though already prejudiced against

* Francis de Joyeuse.

every thing which came from them, at length swallowed the poison; and when he saw me, some days afterwards, asked me if the contract for provisions was signed. I replied it was not; because I thought it a thing of too much consequence to be done without a previous application to the council, which had not met since. Henry, who in this procedure ought to have found nothing but exactness, thought it had an appearance of falsehood and artful precaution, which confirmed his suspicions, and therefore bid me not conclude the bargain till I had an order from him. "Sire," replied I, still ignorant of his meaning, "the merchants will not stay." "If they will not stay," resumed he, with the same dryness and reserve, "they may go back again." This opened my eyes, and anger being now roused in my breast as well as his, "I begin to perceive, sire," said I, "that you have something in your thoughts which I am not to know; I shall send the merchants back, since you will have it so; but you will be pleased to remember this affair another time." Saying this, we separated with great coldness on both sides.

No more mention was made of the provisions till a long time after, when the king coming to the arsenal to confer with me upon other affairs, before some of his courtiers, as usual, took me aside, and said, "I have been informed that the States of Holland will send ambassadors to me in a few days, to settle all that we are to do: in the mean time, let us make the necessary preparations, that nothing may be wanting on our part." This was all he said then. The deputies arrived soon after with letters from the prince of Orange and the council of the States, for his majesty and for me. Henry opened them all, and finding that they assured him they would answer for the success of his en-

terprise, provided he would take the precaution to have all the necessary provisions upon the spot, giving him the same advice on this occasion as I myself had done, he began to be undeceived, and, closing my letters again, gave them to l'Oserai to carry to me. I found out this artifice immediately, and thought it allowable to return it with another, for as good a purpose. I sealed my letters, after I had read them as he had done, and agreed with l'Oserai that he should bring them to me, as if for the first time, when the king who was to come in the afternoon to the arsenal, was with me.

Henry came accordingly, and began the conversation, by asking me if I had received letters from the States: "For I am informed," said he, "that there are some for you." "I have not got them, sire," replied I. "You will have them soon," resumed the king; "for I have given orders to have them brought to you, and mine also: but, in the mean time, let us talk about the provisions; for we shall go at a time when there is none to be got." "I foresaw this long ago, sire," said I, "and I would have given proper orders for every thing that was necessary: you yourself not only approved of my dispatch, but even commanded it. However, you have, by the malice of my enemies, been persuaded to alter your resolution, the inconvenience of which will, I am afraid, fall heavy upon you; for that which might have been had easily, and at a moderate price, at that time, which was the season of harvest, will be very dearly and with difficulty purchased now; and, what is still worse, I know not whether any one will be bold enough to undertake to furnish with provisions an army of more than a hundred and fifty thousand men, and thirty thousand horses." "Who will undertake it?" replied Henry;

“ why you, unless you have an inclination to offend me.” “ I would rather die than offend you, sire,” said I; “ but you ought not to lay your commands upon me to do what is now become impossible, since you would not permit me to do it at a proper time.” “ Let us speak no more of what is past,” resumed the king; “ think only of the future. You must undertake this affair yourself, and, to your other posts and employments, add that of superintendant of provisions. I desire as a friend, that you will accept of this office; for I know, if you act as you have always done, you will acquit yourself well in it.”

I represented to his majesty very seriously, that I had already sufficient business upon my hands in the care of the artillery, which alone, and in the present conjuncture especially, might employ four persons; besides which, I had all the ordinary expenses of the state to provide, those of his majesty’s household, the queen’s, and their children; as likewise of the fortifications, buildings, and other public works; and, lastly, for all his troops, either at home or abroad. “ How!” interrupted Henry, “ do you really refuse then to grant a request, which I make you as one friend would another? If you continue thus obstinate, I shall believe that you no longer love me; and that you really nourish those designs, which, for a long time, endeavours have been used to persuade me you do.” “ What, sire,” said I hastily, (taking advantage of the words which had escaped him,) “ am I then indeed so unhappy, that when I sacrifice my life for your service, your honour, and your fame, you should still return, and on the slightest suggestions, to suspicions of my fidelity. This, I confess, wounds me cruelly, deprives me of all courage to serve you, and will at length put

“an end to my life.” “Well,” resumed the king, who had resolved to expose me to all kinds of assaults, “since you think in this manner, I shall easily find a remedy for all these difficulties: we must break off our journey, pass the time as well as we can, and live in peace with all the world; agree with all parties, and give them money to make them easy: for we have amassed a great quantity, and we will use it for that purpose.” “It is well resolved on, sire,” I replied; “and for myself, I declare, that I am satisfied, since it will free me from many vexations, watchings, labours, reproaches, and dangers.”

Henry interrupted me here with an emotion of rage he was not able to restrain, and reproached me with being a dissembler. “I know,” said he, “that what you have said is far from being your real thoughts or desires: it is you who would be most grieved if we do not make war, which you have so long and so earnestly pressed me to do.” “It is true, sire,” I replied, “that I think fortune presents you with a favourable opportunity to acquire honour and fame, if you are disposed to improve it; but, if not, it is fit that your servants should pretend not to see it.” I added, that his great designs not only turned upon his own person, but also depended so entirely upon himself, that, as he alone would secure the success, so likewise, by one single gesture, or word imprudently uttered, he might ruin them for ever. At length, having endeavoured to hit upon a medium which might compose the difference between us, “If your majesty,” said I, “will be pleased to commit the superintendance of the provisions to messieurs Jeannin and Caumartin, I promise to assist them with my advice, my labour, and my influence; and also with men and money, with a solici-

“tude as great as if my life depended upon it: but, if
“I undertake the office alone, you will never be per-
“suaded to believe, that the difficulties which may arise
“have any other cause than my negligence or want of
“attachment to you.” “Well!” replied Henry, “I shall
“see what is to be done. However, if those persons
“will not engage in the affair without you, you must
“prepare to labour in conjunction with them, unless
“you resolve to see me break off my journey.” L’Ose-
rai entering that moment with the letters, he received
a severe reprimand from the king, for neglecting to
bring them to me before.

From this time his majesty was continually employ-
ed in making preparations for his great enterprise. The
councils which were held from thenceforwards were
kept very secret, and most frequently met at the arse-
nal. The king always admitted M. de Vendôme to
these councils; and laboured to instruct him, as well in
all affairs of state, as of war. He perceived, that there
was a little coldness between this prince and myself,
and, being resolved to reconcile us, took the following
method to effect it; “I have been informed,” said he to
me one day, “that my son de Vendôme, and yours,
“are at variance with each other. I am desirous of re-
“conciling them: send for your son to-morrow morn-
“ing at eight o’clock into your closet; I will bring my
“son thither at that hour, and talk to them both.” Ac-
cordingly, when we were met, Henry took the young
men, each by the hand, and said to them, “You see
“how greatly I love M. de Sully, and with what free-
“dom I live with him. I would have you two on the
“same terms with each other, and follow our advice,
“we who are old and experienced, to the end; that your
“youth may support itself with the prop of our age.

“And you, my son, honour and respect the duke of Sully as myself; and often visit him, that you may learn from him the art of war, and the method to be used in business of state: through his affection for me, he will communicate his knowledge to you as freely as to his own son, whom I desire you would love as your brother; and I command you both to bury in oblivion whatever may have occasioned any abatement of your former friendship.”

I saw with pleasure some new obstacle removed every day. The alliance, which had been proposed to the duke of Savoy,* and which had been already mentioned, was eagerly accepted. The king of Sweden offered himself as an ally to France; and, to connect the interests of both crowns more securely, gave the king to understand that it would be in France where he would seek for a wife for the prince his son, who, young as he was, courageously seconded all his brave resolutions. The kings of England and Denmark, were already more than half gained. The Protestants of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and the Upper Austria, stimulated by our agents, and yet more determined by the cruelties which the emperor's ministers, excited by the Jesuits, practised upon them, had lately assured us, that, as soon as the war should be declared, they would make

* See the treaty concluded this year between France and Savoy, in Neveres's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 832, and the definitive treaty signed at Brusol, the 25th of April, in the year following; by which the king of France engages, amongst other things, to put the duke of Savoy in possession of the Milanese, *ib.* p. 880. This treaty is set forth, according to the Italian original, by Vittorio Siri, *ib.* Vol. II. p. 236. But this writer contradicts himself, by saying, (Vol. I. p. 512,) that it was the duke of Sully who negotiated this agreement between France and Savoy; and asserting afterwards, (p. 566,) that it was the duke of Sully's intention the duke of Savoy should reap no other advantage from it, than only to obtain the protection of France.

a powerful diversion in those borders of Germany. We found, by letters from Bongars, and the landgrave of Hesse, that the elector of Saxony would not be prevailed upon to take part against the emperor; but, to make amends for this bad news, the elector of Bavaria entered into an unlimited engagement with us, upon condition that he should be chosen to succeed the emperor, and actually named king of the Romans. The Swiss cantons appeared very favourably disposed towards us. In a word, none could resist the allurements of those conquests, which all were made to expect. The pope himself, the most difficult in appearance to be gained, showed he was not insensible: upon my telling the nuncio one day, that I intended to make his master a king, he thanked me for this news, which, he said, was the best he could ever impart to his holiness.

But a resource still more certain, which we had begun to make use of, in case of a refusal from the sovereign pontiff, and all the little states of Italy, as Florence, Mantua, Montferrat, Modena, Urbino, Genoa, and Lucca, was to march with an army into the Milanais, and force them all either to join, or contribute, at least, some sums of money to the common armament. Lesdiguières had been commissioned to set on foot a body of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, with a train of artillery consisting of twelve pieces of cannon; and, while he was employed in making these levies, I set apart every month a fund of a hundred thousand crowns for their maintenance, the assignments for which were expedited and already sent. I expected that the duke of Savoy, the Venetians, who were the most zealous for, as indeed they were the most interested in, this part of the scheme, and the pope, in case

we could prevail upon him to declare himself, would each furnish as much.

The storm began now to gather towards Germany. They had actually levied, for the great army which was destined for Cleves, twenty thousand foot, four thousand horse, and got ready a train of artillery consisting of no less than fifty cannons: the carriages, horses, mules, and all the rest of the baggage in proportion, were alike well furnished, and in a fit condition for service. The levies being finished, the army began to file off towards Cleves. Although the war was not yet declared, the company of two hundred men at arms, called the queen's, of which I was captain-lieutenant, received orders to be at Mézieres, on the last day of July, complete and fully equipped.

The king, who delayed to set up his standard till the next spring should afford a proper time to take the field; resolved to avoid every thing that might look like invasion till within ten days of his setting out. He wrote to the archduke, acquainting him, that, being solicited by the lawful heirs of the duke of Cleves to assist them against certain persons, who, supported by several powerful princes, attempted to possess themselves of their dominions, he could not refuse to aid them: and, as the road his army was to take lay through his territory, he intreated him to consent to his marching through as a friend; that he would commit no act of hostility, unless forced to it; and would keep his troops under exact discipline. The archduke's answer, which did not arrive till after his majesty's death, was to this effect: .

“My lord, it is in the quality of one of the humblest
“of your servants, that I intreat you will march through
“my territories: my gates shall be open to you, and pro-

“visions at your service, relying upon the assurance
“your majesty will, I hope, be pleased to give, that no
“act of hostility shall be committed during your march.”

Such was the state of affairs in France at the conclusion of the year 1609, the last months of which Henry had employed solely in bringing his scheme to perfection. The beginning of the following year produced no change in his resolutions, no intermission in his labour: he was so entirely occupied by them, that he often made very indiscreet confidences. On new-year's day, when I went to make him the usual compliments and presents, he was so well pleased with the device of the medals I brought him, that he put two of them in his pocket to show to some of the courtiers. Upon these medals was represented the terrestrial globe, self-balanced in the midst of an atmosphere, and assaulted, in vain, by winds and storms; with these words in Latin upon the exergue of the medal, *Suo se pondere fulcit*; altogether expressing the analogy between this emblem and the condition of our affairs, which, by the wise government of Henry, was capable of triumphing over all the efforts of our enemies. His majesty, at his rising from dinner, found the count of Soissons and the cardinals de Joyeuse and du Perron conversing together in his library: he showed them the medals; and these gentlemen, to please him, enlarged upon the praises he bestowed on me, saying, that I was so much the more worthy of them, as, that in men of rank, a taste for the belles-lettres was seldom found united with the talents necessary to form a complete statesman and soldier.

I was present at this discourse, together with many other persons, who had followed the king into the library. He ordered all to retire, except M. de Vendôme, that he might converse with those I have first mention-

ed. La Varenne and Béringhen staid likewise; but kept near the door. I was extremely uneasy when I heard his majesty begin to talk of his great project before several persons whom I knew were not all equally well affected to his interest; and my uneasiness increased upon his saying, that he would give Spain and the house of Austria such a blow, as would prevent them, for the future, from being considered as formidable enemies to France, whatever change might happen, either with regard to the royal family, or in the form of his government. These words were sufficiently imprudent; but he did not stop here, and was upon the point of betraying his secret, by discovering circumstances of great importance. He no longer remembered what he had often said to me the year before, that he was beset with men who were continually laying snares for him, to penetrate into the bottom of his heart, and whose curiosity, on this occasion, could not but proceed from a very bad motive.

I took the liberty to pull him by the cloak, without any one's perceiving it, which he understood so well, that he stopped short, as if he had forgot something; "My memory," said he, "grows extremely bad: I cannot recollect the names of persons, cities and countries. I intreat you," pursued he, turning to me, "to draw up memorials of all my own designs, their causes, and the expedients necessary for effecting them: as likewise to give me in writing the substance of all the conversations we have had together on these subjects, as far back as you can recollect, that, when my memory is refreshed, I may communicate all to such of my servants whom I judge most worthy of my confidence." Thus did he extricate himself from the necessity he was under of saying more, since he had said

so much. I replied, that I would not fail to give him those memorials he required; but that the work was not so short, nor so easy to be executed, as that I could promise to satisfy him, unless I had prepared those papers long before: notwithstanding which, I was apprehensive that they would be defective in many circumstances, which I could only know from his own mouth, and upon which we had only had short and interrupted conferences. The conversation ended in this manner.

The king took part of the courtiers with him to hunt, and I went home to collect my papers, and put them in order. Some of those upon the affairs of the finances were of great importance; but did not directly relate to his majesty's vast designs. I set apart such as I judged most necessary, and six days afterwards carried them to the king, telling him, when I presented them, that those persons, who looked with an evil eye upon this project, would be much more mortified if they knew what I had to show him. "What!" said he, "have you then concealed any thing of importance upon this subject from me? I know not how to believe it." I answered, that was not the case; but that a thousand things, which, mentioned separately, are difficult to be remembered, when collected together strike the imagination more forcibly.

Among the papers I left with his majesty, those which related to his design were only general ones. When he had examined them, he came to the arsenal, and, shutting himself up with me in my closet, "I have read your memorials," said he, "several times; there are many good things in them easily to be understood and executed; but there are others that require some consideration, and in which I do not think you will find your account." "I expected, sire," replied I, "to hear

“you speak thus; but, before you go any farther, I beg
“you will allow me to tell you, that I have two other
“papers to show you, which, I am persuaded, will clear
“up all your doubts, and satisfy you entirely.” “Oh,
“have you so?” said the king: “Well, give them to me;
“I will read them at my leisure, and then tell you my
“sentiments of them.” In effect, these second memorials contained only some explanations of the former, and satisfactory answers to the doubts which might be raised, or difficulties that might be alleged. In these, likewise, the king found how great a number of soldiers it was necessary to raise for the execution of his vast designs, and what money it would require to maintain them.

The king was eager to see those other papers, and came himself for them to the arsenal. He took his reading glass, which lay upon a table in my closet, and read them quite through with great attention, declaring afterwards, that the memorials I had given him, eight days before, were sufficiently explained by these; and that he now began to entertain hopes of success, seeing that such vast sums were at present amassed, or might be very easily. “For, provided we have money,” said he, “I know I shall not want soldiers, courage, or diligence.” “I am sure of it, sire,” said I; “and there is
“nothing too great for you to perform, or above what I
“expect from you. But here,” added I, showing him a little paper written and signed with my own hand, “is
“something which will remove all your doubts.” Henry looking upon it, and perceiving that it was an account of what sums were then actually in his coffers, which amounted to thirty-six millions, embraced me eagerly three times; then, folding it up carefully, and rising, “These two papers,” said he, “have given me great

“pleasure. I see there is a secure fund for my expenses.” “You must not think, sire,” I replied, as we came out of the closet, “that this is all I am able to do; no, in case of extreme necessity, I may perhaps find the means of producing you as much more: your kingdom is so fertile and opulent, that it cannot be drained, provided good management be used; and that the money destined for the war be not applied to other purposes.” I shall not give the reader the trouble of examining all these accounts in this place, as I propose to insert them exactly, in the exposition I shall shortly make of Henry’s great designs.

His majesty went again to Fontainebleau at the beginning of March; but he staid there only fifteen days: and, by the letters I received from him during that time, it was plain he never lost sight of his project. They all turned upon circumstances relating to the war: in one, he mentions recruiting the five companies of the regiment of Piedmont to two hundred men each: in another, a company of lighthorse, which he had commanded Saubise to raise, giving him twelve thousand livres for that purpose; and ordered me to carry it to account immediately: in another, he directed me to confer with the chancellor, Villeroy, and Jeannin, about all that was necessary for furnishing his troops with provisions, and to choose the magazines along the Maese preferably to all others: in another of his letters, he laid down the order that was to be observed in levying his soldiers, their march to the place of rendezvous, their enrolment, and many other details of the same kind. This letter was addressed more particularly to me, because it related to the levies which were to be made in my government.

I shall suppress, as usual, several other letters like those of the former years, which turned wholly upon

small payments, and affairs of the finances; and shall transcribe only one, which the king thought proper to send me, in answer to some words that had escaped me, concerning the pleasure he took in hunting, and in residing at Fontainebleau.

“My friend, I have heard what you said upon my hunting, and my stay here; but do not imagine, that the pleasure I find in either shall lessen my attention to make the necessary preparations for our journey, or the raising my army, in all that depends upon me: do you only take care to provide money and artillery, that nothing may be wanting; but more especially provisions; for, according to the account you have given me of the ambassadors necessary to be sent to the foreign courts, the presidents Jeannin and Caumartin must be of the number. The others I leave to your choice; for to you I shall apply on every occasion. I have often considered what you said to me concerning my wife and another person, and the promises you exact from me. I shall speak to you more fully on this subject when I see you, which will be in two days. Adieu, my friend. Fontainebleau, March 15.”

Henry, at his return from Fontainebleau, employed the remainder of March, and the whole of April, in putting the finishing hand to every thing that still remained to be done for opening the campaign, which he was resolved to do as soon as possible. He came frequently to the arsenal, and remained many hours shut up with me alone. The time passed away very swiftly while we discoursed upon the accomplishment of his great designs; and a thousand considerations, which, at the eve of so important an enterprise, presented themselves to his mind, both with respect to foreign affairs and the

necessary disposition of those at home, that no inconvenience and disorder might attend his absence. For this purpose the king ordered me to compose a long memorial upon war and affairs of state, which, after we had together examined every particular, he took pleasure in correcting with his own hand.

His majesty appointed the following persons to reside in the quality of ambassadors in the several courts of Europe, while he was employed in the execution of his great design: my brother was to be sent to Rome, and the other principalities and republics of Italy, who had not yet declared for the confederacy; Bullion to the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; Caumartin to the Swiss cantons, Grisons, and their allies; Schomberg to the duke of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brunswick, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the other princes and cities of Germany, which had not yet entered into the alliance; Bongars to Hungary, Bohemia, and Transylvania; Boissise to Denmark, Sweden, and the cities situated upon the Baltic; Jeannin to Great Britain and the United Provinces, and the heirs of the principality of Clèves; Ancel to Vienna and Poland; Préaux to the archdukes, and Montglat to Constantinople.

III. The government at home was destined for the queen, with the title of regent, assisted by a council, without which she could not conclude any thing; and which his majesty composed of the cardinals de Joyeuse and du Perron; the dukes of Maïenne, Montmorency, and Montbazou; the marshals Brissac and Fervaques, messieurs de Châteauneuf, keeper of the seal of the regency, de Harlay, de Nicolai, de Châteauneuf, de Liancourt, de Pontcarré, de Gêvres, de Villemontée, and de Maupeou. This council was not only obliged

to act conformably to the instructions which were given them, but were also tied up from determining any thing upon affairs of great consequence, till they had first informed and consulted his majesty upon them. This great council had under it fourteen smaller ones, composed each of five persons chosen out of the clergy, the noblesse, the lawyers, financiers, and the magistrates of the city of Paris. The number of these little councils was regulated by that of the provinces, or governments into which the kingdom was divided, in the following order: the isle of France, Brittany, Normandy, Picardy, Champaign, Burgundy, Bresse, Lyonois, Forez, Beaujolis; and Auvergne, Dauphiné, Guyenne, Poitou, Aunis, Xaintonge, Angoumois; and Limosin, Orleans, Anjou; and Touraine, Maine, Perche, Berry, Bourbon, Nivernois, and la Marche.

About this time, preparations of a very different nature were making in Paris, which Henry beheld with a deep regret; I mean, the ceremony of the queen's coronation. He had so strong a reluctance to it, that no motive, less powerful than his complaisance for the queen, could have forced him to consent to it. That princess, as soon as she had obtained an order for this ceremony, hurried on the preparations with the utmost eagerness. I have already mentioned the reasons her creatures urged for her speedy coronation; reasons which must appear very extravagant, or highly criminal. Henry proposed to leave Paris immediately after the ceremony; and, as this could not occasion a longer delay than fifteen days, orders were issued for all the troops, both horse and foot, to begin their march directly to Champaign. The six thousand Swiss, which the

king had caused to be levied, were conducted to Mouson by the duke of Rohan, who had gone to the frontier to receive them. I sent away all the ordnance. Never before had France seen a train of artillery so complete and so well furnished; and perhaps never will again. My son put himself at the head of it, by virtue of his post of master-general, of which his majesty had been so good as to grant him the reversion. I prepared to follow soon after with eight millions of money.

At length the king gave the signal of his departure to the foreign powers, by the letter he wrote to the archduke; and here it follows, such as it was composed by me, and such as the duke received, if Villeroy, through whose hands it passed, as secretary of state, did not alter it, which he had a great inclination to do.

“BROTHER,

“Since I cannot refuse, to my best allies and confederates, the assistance they require of me, against those who dispute with them the succession to the dutchies and earldoms of Cleves, Juliers, la Mark, Berg, Ravensburgh, and Ravestein, I am preparing to march thither with my whole army; and, because my road lies through your territories, I am willing to give you notice of it, and know of you whether I am to enter your country as a friend or an enemy; so, in expectation of your answer, I beseech God,” &c.

I know not what judgment ought to be formed of a report which prevailed at that time, and was confirmed to the king, at Fontainebleau, by Girard, who arrived at Brussels on the 7th of March, that in the court and dominions of the archduke, people were persuaded the

king of France pretended to have great designs, only with a view to strike terror into his enemies; and they were so certain that this was the sole aim of his armament, that they made not the least preparations for opposing him. The latter part of this news might be true, as in effect it was; yet the archduke was not so easy as he pretended to appear, otherwise he would have thought very differently from every other person who had an interest in Spain and the house of Austria. Their consternation was inexpressible; for while their adversary's party, which at the foreign courts was called the French faction, wore an air of joy and triumph, which seemed to arise from an assurance of success, the Austrian party was silent, dejected, and inactive; the object of the public detestation, and trembled lest they should soon be the public victims likewise. No possibility appeared of avoiding the thunder, which was preparing to burst upon their heads: but, alas! why do I exult thus unseasonably? they had but too many resources;* it was not

* "There cannot be a doubt," says Perefice, "that there were many conspiracies against the life of this good king; since he had notice of it from twenty different quarters; since printed accounts of his death were published at Spain and at Milan; since a courier passed through the city of Leige, eight days before he was assassinated, who said he was going with news, to the princes of Germany, of his being killed; and since, at Montargis, a note was found on the altar, containing a prediction of his approaching death, by a method determined upon," &c. p. 409.

The archbishop of Embrun, Honorius du Laurens, brother of the king's first physician, being in company with other prelates, said, at the very time the king was murdered; "It is impossible but some mischief must happen to the king from the present situation of affairs: perhaps at this very time we are talking of him, some disaster happens to him." First Letter of Nicholas Pasquier. "A priest of Douay said, at the moment of his assassination, they were murdering the greatest monarch on earth.—The sister of Villars Houdan, governor of Dieppe, a nun at St. Paul in Picardy, said to her abbess; 'Madam, order prayers to be said for the king, for

by entreaties, nor a noble despair, with which they were inclined to oppose a prince whom Europe had chosen to defend and avenge her. The head which gave motion to this great body, must be laid low, and that by a murder. Never had treachery, poisoning, assassination, gained a triumph so infamously great; a triumph so shameful, so detested, that no words can express all its horror. With grief I proceed to acquaint the reader with the particulars of that fatal accident, the remembrance of which still draws tears of blood from my heart.

What shall we think of those black presages, which, it is but too certain, this unfortunate prince had of his cruel destiny? they were indeed dreadful, and surprising to the last degree.* I have already related with what

“they are murdering him: and, a moment after; ‘Alas! he is killed.’” Matthieu, *ib.* p. 335. Pasquier says further, in the same letter, that la Font, provost of Bayonne, in 1608, came to the king to give him notice that there was a design formed against his person: and that, two or three days before this prince was stabbed, the same la Font again told the chancellor, that he who was to kill the king was actually in Paris; that it had been revealed to him, &c. This fact is the same mentioned by du Pleix, p. 411, under the name of a gentleman of Bearn. Pasquier adds, that a merchant of Douai, writing, fifteen days before this murder happened, to a merchant at Rouen, asked if it was true that the king was killed. One of the principal inhabitants of Cambrai said, eight days before, “This old man has great designs, but he will not go much farther:” and many other circumstances of the like kind. There are also some particulars mentioned in the first volume of the life of Mary de Medicis, p. 68; and in many other writings.

* Marshal Bassompierre speaks of it in his *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 292, et seq. in the following manner: “He said to me, a little before that time, ‘I do not know, Bassompierre, what is the matter with me; but I cannot persuade myself I shall ever go to Germany, nor can I believe thou wilt go into Italy.’ He often said to me and others, ‘I believe I shall die soon.—The queen had a violent inclination to be crowned before the king’s departure for Germany; but the king was no ways desirous of it, as well to avoid the expense, as because he was not at all fond of such great festivals.” It is highly probable this prince carefully concealed

reluctance he permitted the ceremony of the queen's coronation to go forward; the nearer the moment ap-

from every one but M. de Sully, the true motives which induced him to be against this ceremony. "Nevertheless," continues this writer, "as he was the best husband in the world, he consented to it, and deferred his journey to Germany, till after she should have made her public entry into Paris. The coronation of the queen was performed with the utmost magnificence it was capable of. The king was unusually gay during the ceremony. He said to the queen, the duke of Guise, and to me also: 'None of you know me thoroughly: but I shall die one of these days: and when you have lost me, you will find what I really was, and the difference between me and other men.' I said to him; 'Good God, sire, will you always disquiet yourself thus, and continually talk of your dying soon? These expressions are not proper. You will still live, please God, many happy years. There is no happiness comparable to yours: you are in the flower of your age, in perfect health and strength of body; more loaden with honours than any other mortal; enjoying, with the greatest tranquillity, the most flourishing kingdom in the world; loved, and even adored by your subjects; possessed of great estates, and money in abundance; fine houses; a beautiful wife; handsome children, growing up apace. What can you wish for more?' He, sighing, answered, 'My friend, I must lose them all soon,' &c.

"It was observed," say l'Etoile's Memoirs, "that, on throwing gold and silver medals among the people, according to custom, there was no cry of *God save the king*, or, *God save the queen!*" "I shall pass over," continues this writer, "the dreams it was reported both his majesty and the queen had that night, of a house falling on him in the street called la Ferronnerie, &c. It is an indisputable fact, that about six months ago, the king being at Zamet's, and having dined there, he retired alone into a room, saying he would lie down; and sent for Thomassin, who was esteemed the most celebrated astrologer of that time, (and it was even said he dealt with the devil,) to come to him there: and his majesty having put several questions to him, on different matters, relating to his person and kingdom, Thomassin told him, he must take care of himself in May 1610; and even pointed out to him the day and hour in which he would be killed. But the king making a jest of him and his astrology, sometimes pulling him by the hair, and sometimes by the beard, made him take two or three turns round the room, and sent him away in this manner. He deserves to be commended for this; and much more, had he not listened to him at all, and banished all such pests from his court and kingdom." Anno 1610. See also in Mezerai's History, in 4to. Paris, anno 1667, Vol. III. p.

proached, the more his terrors increased. In this state of overwhelming horror, which at first I thought an unpardonable weakness, he opened his whole heart to me: his own words will be more affecting than all I can say: "Oh! my friend" said he, "this coronation does not please me: I know not what is the meaning of it; but my heart tells me some fatal accident will happen." He sat down, as he spoke these words, upon a low chair, which I had caused to be made on purpose for him, and which was kept always in my closet, and resigning himself up to all the horror of his melancholy apprehensions, he grasped the case of his reading-glass hard between his fingers, and continued in a profound reverie; then, suddenly starting up, and striking his hands together, he exclaimed; "*Pardieu!* I shall die in this

1447, the different prognostications of this prince's death, which came to the knowledge of the public at that time, and since.

P. Matthieu observes, that the queen waking in the night, in great fright and agitation, said to the king, who inquired the cause of it; "I was dreaming some body stabbed you with a knife, on the staircase." "Thank God," replied the king, "it is only a dream." The same writer adds, to these predictions, several expressions of Henry IV as so many instances of that secret presage which arises in the mind on the approach of some inevitable catastrophe, or what at least is deemed so, after the event has happened; such are those he made use of to the queen: "My dear, if this is not done on Thursday, after Friday is once past you will see me no more; no, on Friday I shall bid you adieu." Another time, "Go on, go on, queen regent." To the same, retiring to her devotions; "My dear, make confession for yourself and me too." To the courtiers showing them the dauphin; "This is your king." Speaking of the queen's public entry; "I have nothing to do with it; I shall not see it."—"Let us not laugh so much on Friday, for we shall weep on Sunday," &c. Vol. II. book iv. p. 810, et seq. Morizot observes, that, at the queen's coronation, the painter, instead of enamelling her coat of arms argent, which the house of Medicis bears, through ignorance painted it chesnut, the colour of widows; and instead of palms, he encircled it with twisted cords, another mark of widowhood. Hen Mag. p. 51.

“city; they will murder me here; I see plainly that they
“have made my death their only resource. Oh! this
“cursed coronation, it will be the cause of my death.”
“My God, sire,” said I to him, “what a thought have
“you entertained! if you persist in it, it is my opinion
“that you ought to break off this coronation, your jour-
“ney, and your war; if you wish it should be so, it is
“not difficult to satisfy you.” The like discourse being
afterwards renewed two or three times, he at last said,
“Yes, yes, break off this coronation, and let me never
“hear more of it; my mind will then be freed from
“those apprehensions which the advices I have receiv-
“ed have given rise to: I shall then leave this city, and
“have nothing to fear.”

“I would not yield to your solicitations,” added he,
“but that it has been foretold to me I should be mur-
“dered at a public ceremony, and in a coach; and
“hence proceed my fears.” “You never mentioned
“this to me, sire,” I replied; “and I have been often
“surprised to hear you cry out when in a coach, and
“seem so much alarmed at a danger so inconsiderable;
“you whom I have often beheld unmoved in all the rage
“of war, amidst volleys of cannon and musket shots,
“and environed by swords and pikes. However, since
“this notion affects you to such a degree, I would ad-
“vise you, sire, to depart to morrow: let the coronation
“be performed without you, or defer it till some other
“time; and let it be long ere you return to Paris, or
“get into a coach. Shall I send directly to Notre Dame
“and St. Denis, to put a stop to the preparations, and
“send back the workmen?” “I would consent to it
“willingly,” said the king; but what will my wife, who

“has this coronation strangely in her head, say to it?”
“Let her say what she will,” resumed I, finding my proposal had greatly pleased the king; however, I cannot believe that she will continue obstinate, when she knows what apprehensions you have of some disaster happening.”

I did not wait for any other order, but sent immediately to put a stop to the preparations for the coronation. It is with much regret that I am obliged to confess, that, notwithstanding all my endeavours, the queen would not give her husband this satisfaction. I shall pass over, in silence, the prayers, entreaties, and arguments, with which for three whole days I endeavoured to move her.* It was Henry’s part to yield; and, as in certain moments he was the first to condemn himself for his fears, he left off speaking to me of the coronation; or by me to the queen. The preparations again went forward, and again his apprehensions returned. It was in these words, (which he had perpetually in his mouth,) that he expressed those apprehensions: “Ah! my friend, I shall never go out of this city: they will murder me here: this cursed coronation will be the cause of my death.” I shall never forget those sad words.

In this affair, there are some private circumstances, which I think it my duty to suppress. I would carry my silence still further, if I did not think it needless, in things which my domestics and other persons had some knowledge of. The following fact is of that number: Schomberg, who lived with me in so great a degree of

* This overthrows Matthieu’s assertion, in opposition to all other historians, that the queen was not at all desirous of being crowned.

intimacy that he seemed one of the family, had a note brought to him by a page, as he sat at table one day, which I observed, as it was slid into his hand very mysteriously. I rallied him upon the note, alleging that it came from a mistress. He answered, that he would assure me without reading it, that it was not what I imagined, and promised to show me the contents, of what nature soever they were. As soon as he rose from table, he went to a window to read his letter: it was very short; he put it into my hands, saying that it came from mademoiselle de Gournai; a name that would remove all suspicions of gallantry: adding that she entreated him to come to her immediately, having something of the utmost consequence to impart to him. He promised to return directly, and acquaint me with the affair; and accordingly he came back in half an hour.

This lady had been informed by a woman,* who had belonged to the marchioness de Verneuil, that there

* The author means Jacqueline le Voyer, of the village of Orsin, betwixt Epernon and Ablis, wife of Isaac de Varennes, esq. lord of Comon, d'Escoman, or Escouman: she is known by the first name: her history is an incident, in the process against Ravailac, of too much importance to be passed over in silence; we shall have occasion to recur to it more than once. "She made a declaration in writing," say the memoirs for the Hist. of France, p. 357, "which contains a very circumstantial account of Ravailac's conspiracy and designs, and named the duke d'Epéron, and the marchioness de Verneuil, as the contrivers of them. Neither the king, the queen, or any of those she addressed herself to, in order to make a discovery of what she knew, would listen to her; but treated her as a mad woman. On Tuesday the 25th of January 1611, for this prosecution was not determined before the following year was far advanced, the chambers of the parliament met for the examination of la Coman, when several persons were ordered to be taken into custody, and others to attend in person. La Villiers Hotman, the wife of the president St.

was actually a conspiracy formed against the king's person; and, inquiring who were the persons concern-

“ André, and Charlotte du Tillet her sister, appeared. La Coman spoke well and sensibly, with great resolution and firmness, and without varying in her answers and accusations; she confirmed what she said with such powerful reasons and strong proofs, that her judges were astonished at them. She had formerly been in the service of queen Margaret, to whom she applied, with intent to make a discovery to her of this important conspiracy and design; whereof the queen regent being informed, she called her a wicked woman, who accused every body; and said, she did not know but she might at last accuse even her. The reflections she and du Tillet cast on one another on being confronted, on account of their irregularities, were diverting enough. Had la Coman stopt there, she had been safe enough; but to go to such lengths as she did, is too dangerous: for those, who accuse the great, often lose both their estates and life in the attempt, which puts me in fear for her.” There is this note in the margin on this du Tillet: Charlotte du Tillet, a woman of intrigue, and confidant of the marchioness de Verneuil, was the person who informed madam d'Escoman of Ravailac's designs.”

“ On Sunday the 30th of January, the marchioness de Verneuil, on the depositions of la Coman was examined by the chief president at his own house, where I had ordered her to be summoned to attend for that purpose, which examination lasted from one o'clock till five in the afternoon.” Another marginal note on this place says, “ She was accused by madam d'Escoman, and was only ordered to attend to be examined, though the matter in question was no less than the assassination of the king, and the highest kind of treason.”

“ On Saturday the 5th of March, the court sat on the case of la Coman, and the other prisoners accused by her of being concerned in the assassination of the king, when an arret was made, which was said to be like the sentence of the Areopagites, who, when they found a cause too full of difficulties to be determined by them, put off the giving judgment on it for an hundred years: thus the court, finding no small difficulty in this case, ordered it to stand over for judgment till a more convenient time: in the interim, opening the doors of the prison to the accused, and keeping la Coman alone there, who in appearance ought to have been set at liberty before any of the rest; but the times would not permit it: and the chief-president himself, who was present when this order was made, was of this opinion, out of respect for the parties accused, who nevertheless were not acquitted by this arret: which was no small matter of disquiet

ed in it, the woman named the marchioness de Verneuil, herself, monsieur N——, and some others; upon

“both to them and the state.” There is this note in the margin: “This arret ordains, that a further information should be taken in this matter; and that, in the mean time, Stephen Sauvage, valet de chambre to Mons. d’Enragues the elder, and James Gaudin, accused, and prisoners in the Conciergerie, should be set at liberty. A definitive sentence was given on the 31st of July following, whereby the marchioness de Verneuil, madam du Tillet, Gaudin, and Sauvage, are declared innocent, and acquitted of assassinating the king; and mademoiselle d’Ecoman is condemned, as guilty of false accusation, to be imprisoned for life, all her goods, chattels, and estates, to be seized and confiscated, without restitution. It is further ordered, that all other prosecutions on this account shall cease. This punishment, if d’Ecoman’s accusation was groundless, is very gentle.” *Ib.* p. 361. The sentence against her had been under the consideration of the court from Saturday the 23d; and the judges were divided in opinion, nine against nine. P. 377.

The account which the *Merc. Frang.* anno 1611, p. 14, et seq. gives of this affair of d’Ecoman, is directly contrary to l’Etoile’s; and, as that account is supported by an unquestionable evidence, one cannot refuse giving credit to it. It is there proved, that this woman, on account of her infamous manner of life, having been shut up in the Hôtel Dieu, and being afterwards imprisoned in the Châtelet, where even sentence of death was pronounced on her, in order to obtain her liberty, and procure herself favour from queen Margaret, she invented this calumny; that having accused the marchioness de Verneuil of sending Ravallac to her with a letter, desiring her to procure him an interview with mademoiselle du Tillet, and charging du Tillet with having admitted that assassin into her room when she herself was present. She was convicted of having been guilty of many falsehoods in the relation of these facts; and, amongst others, that she had never seen, and did not even know, Ravallac; that she had not indeed so much as heard his name before he was brought to the Conciergerie, which is proved from this woman’s own words; that Gaudin, on being confronted with her, absolutely confounded her; and, in short, that there was not one of all those who were confronted with her, but proved her guilty of falsehood, imposition, and slander.

The author of l’Histoire de la Mere et du Fils, in justification of the arret of the parliament, which appears so blameworthy to l’Etoile, says: “That august body would have condemned her to be publicly burnt, had the false accusation, of which she was found guilty, been of any other nature; but in cases where the life of kings is in question, the fear of shutting the

which mademoiselle de Gournai resolved to give the king notice of the plot, by informing the queen of it, through one of the women of her chamber, named Catherine de Selvage. Mademoiselle de Gournai, after further reflection, did not think this sufficient, and cast her eyes upon M. de Schomberg, as one who might mention the affair directly to his majesty. M. de Schomberg, after he had acquainted me with these circumstances, confessed to me that he was greatly perplexed in what manner to act, and desired I would give him my advice. The thing was too important to be concealed, and too dangerous to be despised: but, on the other hand, by disclosing it to the king, we exposed him to the necessity of making implacable enemies of all those who were involved in the accusation; for we knew this prince would not fail to mention them publicly. My wife only was present at our consultation.

We agreed, at length, that Schomberg should mention it to the king, but with all possible circumspection; and, if his majesty should desire to know who the accomplices were, he was to refer him to the two women already named, as best able to inform him. No one is unacquainted with the event. The woman, from whom mademoiselle de Gournai heard all that she had related

“ door against such discoveries as may be made, causes the rigour of the laws to be dispensed with.” Vol. I. p. 154. See a paper reprinted in the 4th vol. of l’Etoile’s new Memoirs, p. 256, entitled ‘ Interrogations for the Examination of madam de Coman, and her Answer thereto;’ in which this letter to mademoiselle de Gournai and count de Schomberg is mentioned: “ She knew so well how to manage her discourse, and supported her accusations in so resolute a manner, that they did not find sufficient grounds to put her to death.” Mem. de la Reg. de M. de Médicis, vol. I. p. 74.

to M. de Schomberg, being interrogated, firmly maintained her deposition, and persisted in it to her death. This is a circumstance which will never be forgotten by those who endeavoured to draw some inferences from the great care that was taken to suppress all the papers relating to the trial of the horrid parricide.*

* This suppression of the proceedings in the trial of Ravailac, by the parliament of Paris, is a fact universally known. To the reflections thrown on his judges on this account, it has been further added, that none, or, at least, a very short and slight examination, was made by them into the manner of the death of several persons confined, on this account, in the prisons, which to many appeared to be unnatural; that they neglected to summon and interrogate many other persons who were capable of throwing great light upon this matter; such as the mother of the murderer, who knew very well that he left Angoulême on Easter-day; before he had performed the devotions of that festival; many of his relations, whom he had named in the course of his examination; the parish priest of St. Severin; father St. Mary Magdalen, of the order of the Benardines; the Capuchins of Angoulême, who had given him a heart made of cost-mary root in a reliquary, with some wood of the true cross, at least they made him believe so; and which, they told him, would cure him of a fever he had then got; that they also had not examined the sieur Guillebaut, a canon of Angoulême; father Gilles Osieres, an old visiter of the order of Cordeliers at Paris; Le Fèvre, another young Cordelier; several of the cardinal du Perron's almoners, whom Ravailac said he knew very well by sight, but whose names he did not know; certain persons called Béliard, Bréteau, Colletet, du Bois, de Limoges, &c. It was also complained of, that Ravailac had been so carelessly guarded in prison, that, during the thirteen days he continued there, all who chose were admitted to see and talk with him. Another complaint of still greater weight, if the fact be true, is, that at the first pull of the horses at his execution, Ravailac having desired some one would take his confession, as of a dying man, the clerk Voison, who took it, wrote it so ill, that, though it is still in being, (as it is said,) no sworn notary or scrivener has yet been found skilful enough to decypher a single word of it.

All these considerations make an infinite number of people conclude, that the parliament acted in this manner out of fear, that, in case the truth had been discovered and made public, they would have been necessitated to proceed with the utmost rigour against too many, and those too power-

The ceremony of the queen's coronation was performed, in the mean time, with all the magnificence usual upon such extraordinary occasions. It was to last several days, and to be terminated by the most splendid show of all on Sunday the 16th of May.* The king

ful persons. It would be labour lost to endeavour to persuade all those people of the contrary. But after all, since, by the suppression of the proceedings in this affair, there do not at present remain sufficient information whereon, with certainty, to form any judgment of the truth, which, even at that time, could never be cleared up, it must be owned, that one cannot, without rashness, pretend to determine any thing in this matter at the distance of an hundred and thirty years, which have since elapsed; and God forbid I should expose myself to such a reproach. If, in obedience to the laws prescribed to every author of memoirs, I have submitted to join to my text here, and at the end of this book, whatever I could recollect, from the most credible historians, relating to this particular fact, as I have constantly done in respect to every historical relation given in this work, my justification, supposing any to be necessary in so plain a case, will be, that I have stated both sides of the question with equal impartiality: and, on the other side, in answer to those who may complain that, after all that has been said, nothing is clearly decided, I would say, it is no fault of mine that nothing but conjectures can be come at in this matter, and that even those conjectures should frequently destroy one another.

* The ceremony of the coronation was performed at St. Denis on Thursday, the 13th of May; le Merc. Franç. Matth. the 9361st Vol. of the MSS. royaux, and other historians, give a detail of the magnificence and manner of it. Preparations were made for the queen to make her public entry on the Sunday following, with a pomp surpassing even that of the coronation. Henry IV said on Tuesday; "I will lie at St. Denis on Wednesday; I will return from thence on Thursday; I will put my affairs in order on Friday; on Saturday I will run at the ring; on Sunday my wife shall make her entry; on Monday my daughter Vendôme shall be married; on Tuesday we will keep the marriage feast; and on Wednesday to horse and away." Matth: ib. p. 804. This historian, speaking of the ceremony of the coronation at St. Denis, says; "Henry IV was surprised at the Spanish ambassador's not taking off his hat in the church. Cicogne told him, that the late king of Spain only just took off his hat at the elevation of the host, and immediately put it on again, as if he had been saluting a gentleman of five hundred livres a year. On which the king said: 'If

had so much complaisance for the queen as to assist at a ceremony which pierced him to the heart; but, when it was over, he thought he should have having nothing more to detain him, and Monday, May 17, was the day appointed for his departure. I should not have staid at Paris so long, but a violent pain which I felt in my neck and throat, occasioned by a wound I had received there many years before, obliged me to have recourse to my physicians, who ordered me to bathe three mornings successively in my chamber. I did not envy the happiness of those who, having protracted their departure out of curiosity to see the ceremony of the queen's coronation, ran eagerly to the show: the deep concern it gave Henry rendered it almost as odious to me as to him. The count of Soissons alleged, that there was some failure in the ceremonial with respect to him; and made use of this pretence to quit the court in disgust.*

The ceremony, for some reason or other, being suspended, the unfortunate king had destined part of Friday, May the 14th, (that most miserable day for France,) to be spent in conference with me, as it was the last inter-

“we had those sentiments of religion we ought to have, we would show
 “still greater reverence to those mysteries than we do; for we ought to be-
 “lieve that, after the words of consecration are pronounced, till the com-
 “munion, Jesus Christ is always present on the altar.”

* “This retreat was differently spoken of by different persons: neverthe-
 “less it is certain, that his majesty, after having granted him every thing he
 “desired, against his own inclinations, sent him word, that whatever he
 “had promised him he would perform; but he might be assured, at the same
 “time, that he would no longer hold any place in his favour; and that, hav-
 “ing compelled him to grant what he did not approve of, he should never
 “see him again with pleasure; which message being delivered to the count,
 “he immediately mounted his horse, and, taking the princess his wife with
 “him, retired to one of his country seats.” *Mem. pour servir à l'Hist. de*
France. anno 1610.

view we were likely to have before his departure. I was not ignorant of what he had to say to me. A malicious report had been spread, that, while in appearance he was preparing to fall upon the house of Austria with such formidable forces, he had privately entered into an agreement with them, not only to proceed no farther, but also to betray all his allies, provided they would consent that he should keep Cleves for himself, and the entire succession, which had been the occasion of the armament. To this his enemies added another condition, which they said he demanded; namely, that Spain should put the prince and princess of Condé into his hands.* Henry was desirous of convincing me that this report, so injurious to his reputation, was absolutely false. It had been likewise insinuated to him, that the reluctance I discovered to take upon me the charge of furnishing the provisions, was because I had flattered myself that he would, of his own accord, and without my solicitation, erect the post of marshal-general of the

* “The nuncio finding himself at last closely urged by his majesty, who was inquiring of him what was thought at Rome and in Italy of the war he was going to undertake, answered, That those who had the best information were of opinion, that the principal cause of that war was the princess of Conde, whom he wanted to have back. When the king, in violent anger, and swearing, not *ventre saint gris!* as usual, but by —, cried out, ‘Yes, most certainly I do want to have her back, and I will have her back; no one can or shall hinder it, not even God’s lieutenant on earth.’” Mem. pour l’Hist. de France, anno 1610. These words ought not to prevent us from considering, as a calumny, the report to which some writers have too lightly given credit, that the chief inducement Henry IV had to commence so important a war, was to oblige Spain to deliver the prince, or rather the princess of Condé, up to him; which seems to me not to stand in need of any proof. No less unjust and malicious is this other charge, that this prince had agreed with the court of Spain not to push his design any further, on condition it would give up to him the states in contest.

camps and armies into a great office of the crown, and invest me with this high dignity: however, I solemnly declare, that I never entertained such a thought. The friendship this great king expressed for me, and the confidence he placed in me, which towards the close of his life was greater than it had ever been, makes it no presumption in me to declare, that I believe, if such had been my desire, he would not have refused me a favour which, great as it was, was still less considerable than others he had offered me; nor will I scruple to assert, that he thought me very capable of such an employment: all that I am doubtful of is, whether he really had any such intentions with regard to me, and whether he was not dissuaded from them by the artful insinuations of my enemies, who affirmed that I had resolved to quit the care of his finances, as soon as I was raised to this eminent dignity.

It was therefore, I presume, to make me some new solicitations with respect to furnishing the provisions, that Henry sent la Varenne, on Wednesday morning, to tell me I must meet him in the Tuilleries, where he had a desire to walk with me alone. La Varenne found me bathing, and perceiving that I was preparing, notwithstanding, to obey his majesty's orders, he prevented me, saying, he was very sure that the king would come himself to the arsenal, when he knew I was indisposed; and that he would be very angry with me, if I exposed myself to any danger by going out, when there was no necessity for it. "Only stay," added he, "till I have spoken to him, and I will return immediately and tell you what he says." Accordingly he came back in half an hour. "Sir," said he, "the king desires that you

“will finish your bathing, and forbids you to go abroad to-day; for M. du Laurens assures him, that your health will suffer if you do. His majesty is going into the city, for which he will tell you his reason to-morrow* morning at five o’clock, when he will be, without fail, at the arsenal, to settle all affairs with you; for he is resolved to set out on Monday at any rate. He says, that what you said to him concerning his passage, and every other part of his design, is just; and that nothing shall have power to alter his intentions, but *some misfortune either to your person or his own* (those were his very words.) And he commands you,” continued la Varenne, “to receive him to-morrow in your night-gown and night-cap, that you may not suffer any inconvenience from your bathing: he declares, if he finds you dressed, he will be very angry.” La Varenne, after he had thus delivered the king’s message, added from himself, that his majesty had taken my advice, and sent away the letter which had been written to the archduke, although he thought it an useless piece of formality: “For I am resolved,” said this prince, “to make myself be believed one way or other.” My servants have since told me, that, when la Varenne quitted my apartment, they observed an unusual sadness upon his countenance, the cause of which they could not comprehend; nor indeed could he himself account for it.

At four o’clock in the afternoon, as I had just entered my wardrobe, I heard Castenet, and afterwards my wife, utter a great cry, and that instant my whole house

* Henry IV in reality did not intend to go to the arsenal till the next morning; but he unfortunately changed that intention in the afternoon.

resounded with inquiries after me, and this mournful exclamation: "Ah! my God, all is lost! France is undone!" I went out precipitately, undressed as I was. "Ah! sir," cried they on all sides, "the king has just been dangerously wounded in his side with a knife." It was not possible for me to doubt a moment whether the dreadful news was true. St. Michel* entered immediately: he had been a witness almost of the blow, and brought the knife with which it was given, still reeking with blood. "Oh!" I exclaimed, raising my hands and eyes to heaven, in a distraction no words can describe, "this is what this poor prince always apprehended: Oh! my God, have pity upon him, upon us, and the state: it is done; he is murdered—God would not have permitted so cruel an accident, but to let loose all his wrath upon France, and to deliver her into foreign hands."

* St. Michel was one of his majesty's gentlemen in ordinary, who had followed him. He had drawn his sword to kill the assassin, when the duke d'Epernon called out to him, and to the footmen, who had the same design, to stop, at the peril of their lives: to secure his person, but to take care not to do any thing more. "The duke recollected," says the historian of his life, "the displeasure he had conceived at, and the fault that had been found with, those who killed James Clement," &c. p. 233. P. Matthieu adds, "That St. Michel only snatched the knife out of Ravailac's hands: that count de Curson struck him on the throat with the pommel of his sword; and that la Pierre, exempt of the guards, seized him, and put him into the hands of the footmen, who delivered him up to Montigny."

* * The different accounts of the assassination of Henry IV, and the observations upon them, which follow here in the former editions of these Memoirs, will be found in Vol. V. p. 159

BOOK XXVIII.

1610—1611.

I. Events which occurred immediately after the assassination of Henry IV; a description of his person; particulars relating to his life; his character; his good and bad qualities. Sully shuts himself up in the Bastile; but afterwards goes to the Louvre: the gracious reception given him by the queen: he assists at the ceremony of the bed of justice. Mary de Medicis settles a public and private council, in which the policy and maxims of government are entirely changed: Sully's complaints of these proceedings: he is not regarded.—II. The count of Soissons returns to court: quarrels between him and Sully. Councils held concerning the armament set on foot by Henry, concerning the duke of Savoy, &c., in which Sully makes fruitless representations against their proceedings: he resolves to resign his employments, and to retire from court; his family oppose this design; he sends Arnaud to Conchini, who receives with haughtiness his advances.—III. Return of the prince of Condé to court; Sully unites with him; the wise advice he gives him, notwithstanding which, this prince joins his enemies. Other plots of the court: and Sully's disputes with the ministers and courtiers. A farther account of the affair of Cleves, and its conclusion.

I. **AMIDST** the first transports of my grief at the news of my dear master's death, I fancied, that though mortally wounded, some little remains of life might still be left him; and my mind eagerly welcoming this faint ray of hope and consolation, "Give me my clothes and boots," said I to those who were about me, "and saddle some of my best horses, for I will not use a coach, and let all my gentlemen hold themselves in readiness to accompany me." I had then only a few of my servants with me; for all the others, believing that I was too much indisposed to go out, or even to be

dressed, had dispersed several ways; but the report of the king being wounded, which was soon spread over all quarters of the city, had brought them all together again before I had mounted my horse, and with them so many other persons, who were particularly attached to me, that I had scarcely reached the house of Beaumarchais, when I had above an hundred horse in my train: which, in a few moments more, was increased to an hundred and fifty; for, as I advanced, I met several of the king's faithful servants, who were coming to my house, to ask my advice concerning what measures they should take in this most miserable conjuncture. The universal grief* and consternation which I now beheld,

* The description Perefice gives of it, p. 415, is quite affecting: "When
 "the report of this tragical accident had been spread all over Paris, and
 "it was certainly known that the king, who at first was thought to be only
 "wounded, was actually dead, that mixture of hope and fear, which till
 "then had kept this great city in suspense, at once burst forth in loud
 "cries and violent groans; some became motionless and insensible,
 "through grief; others ran about the streets, quite frantic; many em-
 "braced their friends without saying any thing to them, but, *Alas! what*
 "*a misfortune!* some shut themselves up in their houses; others threw
 "themselves on the ground: one might see women with their hair dishev-
 "elled, crying and lamenting; fathers said to their children, What will
 "become of you? you have lost your father. Those who had greater ap-
 "prehensions for the future, and who remembered the horrible calamities
 "of the late civil wars, deplored the misfortunes of France, and said, that
 "the fatal stroke which had pierced the heart of the king, at the same
 "time gave a deadly wound to every Frenchman. It was said, many
 "were so strongly affected by this event, that they died on the spot, others
 "in a few days afterwards. In short, it was not the appearance of a
 "mourning for one single man, but as if the half of all mankind were
 "dead. One would have thought every one had lost all his family, pos-
 "sessions, and hopes, by the death of this great king. All kings and
 "princes," adds the historian Matthieu, "lamented his death.—The king
 "of Spain, compelled by truth and grief, declared, that the greatest com-
 "mander on earth was dead.—The Venetians said, Our king is dead."
 Ibid. p. 834.

was a proof how tenderly this good prince was beloved in his capital. Nothing could be more affecting than the different ways by which the citizens and populace of this great city expressed their affection and their sorrow: groans, tears, loud cries of grief, a mournful silence, arms raised towards heaven, clasped hands; some striking their bosoms, others shaking their heads, with a melancholy air; this was the spectacle which was every where presented to my view; some of them looking dejected upon me, said, “Ah! sir, we are all undone, our “good king is dead.”

As I passed through the street de la Pourpointerie, a man whom I had not perceived before, passed close by me, and put a note into my hands, which I gave to some of those who were nearest me to read; it contained only these few words: “Sir, where are you going? It is done; “I have seen him dead; if you enter the Louvre you “will not escape any more than him.” This note gave me a dreadful certainty of what I was seeking to know. I could not refrain from bursting into tears: the sad truth was confirmed to me a thousand different ways. Du Jon, whom I met near Saint Innocent, said to me, “Sir, our evil is without remedy. God has disposed of “him; I know it; I have seen him speechless: take “care of yourself, for this strange blow must have fatal consequences.” On entering the street Saint Honoré, another note, like the former, was thrown to me; yet I still continued my course to the Louvre. My train was now increased to three hundred horse, when I met Vitry at the end of the street; he came and embraced me, breaking out into lamentable cries, which it was not in his power to restrain; never did I behold a man in such affliction! “Ah! sir,” cried he, “they have

“ murdered our good master; he is dead, France is ruined; as for me, I am persuaded I have but a short time to live: I am going out of France, never more to return to it; we must now bid farewell to that order and regularity you had established. But, sir,” said he afterwards, “ where are you going with this train? they will not suffer you to approach the Louvre, nor to enter there with more than two or three attendants, which I would not advise you to do;* for I am greatly

* By all the duke of Sully's expressions here one may perceive he thought it incumbent upon him to justify himself against a fault he is accused of having committed on this occasion.—Marshal Bassompierre speaks of it as follows: “ As we came out, going towards Saint-Anthony's street, we met the duke of Sully, with about forty horse, who, as he approached, said to us with a melancholy accent, ‘ Gentlemen, if your vows of service to the king, whom we have just now most unhappily lost, have made that impression on your minds, which they ought on that of every good Frenchman, swear on the spot, that you will serve the king his son and successor, with the same fidelity as you did him; and that you will venture your persons and lives in revenging his death.’ I answered him, ‘ Sir, we are obliging others to take this oath, and have no need to be advised to perform what we think ourselves so strongly bound to do.’ I do not know whether my answer surprised him, or whether he repented of having come so far from his fortress; but he immediately turning about, left us, and went and shut himself up in the Bastile, sending, at the same time, to seize all the bread in the markets and baker's shops. He also sent in great haste to M. de Rohan, his son-in-law, to make him come back, with six thousand Swiss, who were in Champagne, and of whom he was colonel-general, to march directly to Paris; which was afterwards made use of as a pretext to exclude him from the management of affairs: besides this, messieurs de Praslin and de Crequy, who came to summon him for that purpose, could never persuade him to wait on the king, as all the other great men did; nor did he go till the next day, when the duke of Guise, with difficulty, prevailed on him to go: after which, he countermanded his son-in-law, with the Swiss, who had already advanced a day's march towards Paris.” Vol. I. p. 300. L'Etoile only says, “ M. de Sully, more dead than alive, came to wait on the queen, who received him kindly, continued him in all his posts, and sent him to the

“deceived if this plot ends here. I have seen some
 “persons, who have so little sensibility of the loss they
 “have sustained, that they cannot even affect the grief

“arsenal to exercise the duties of his office.” *Mem. Hist. de France*, p.
 “309. But his commentator appears to be of the same opinion with Bas-
 sompierre, from whom he quotes in the margin the passage we have recited
 here. The author of *l’Histoire de la Mere et du Fils*, inveighs violently
 on this account against M. de Sully, though without making mention of his
 seizing the bread, or recalling the Swiss. He only accuses this minister of
 giving way, with too much weakness, to the fear he had conceived of his
 enemies about the queen. “Some of his friends,” says he, “did every
 “every thing in their power to engage him to the performance of his duty,
 “and to get the better of his apprehensions and fears; but as persons of
 “the greatest courage, on some occasions become fearful and timorous, it
 “was for some time impossible to inspire him with resolution enough for
 “this purpose. It was a long time before he could recover his courage.
 “Towards the evening, Saint-Geran, whom he had obliged, and who pro-
 “fessed a great friendship for him, coming to him, at last prevailed on him
 “to quit the arsenal and go to the Louvre. When he came to the Croix-
 “du-Trahoir, his apprehensions seized him again, and so powerfully, by
 “reason of some intelligence he received at that place, that he went back,
 “with fifty or sixty horse, who accompanied him to the Bastile, of which
 “he was captain; having desired M. de Saint-Geran to go and make his
 “excuses to the queen, and assure her of his fidelity and readiness to serve
 “her.” *Vol. I. p. 49.*

Viewing this account in the most unfavourable light, disadvantageous
 as it is to the duke of Sully, it can only give room to blame him for having
 carried his precaution, against any attempt on his person, (which was looked
 upon as chimerical,) too far; but the historian Matthieu, the best informed
 of all those writers, acquaints us, that the fear this minister had conceived
 was not so groundless as his enemies have represented. He speaks of this
 matter in the following manner: “They had raised jealousies in the queen
 “of the duke of Sully, and she had been advised to secure his person, be-
 “cause he had the Bastile, the arsenal, and the king’s money, in his pos-
 “session. He had been bathing that day, and being advertised of this
 “unhappy accident, he got on horseback to go to the Louvre; but com-
 “ing to the Croix-du-Trahoir, followed by about forty gentlemen, he re-
 “ceived some advices which made him return. The queen sent the duke
 “of Guise to fetch him to her, who found him in the great walk in his gar-
 “den, on the side next to the Bastile, and acquainted him with the queen’s

“they ought to feel for it: this I have observed, and am
“ready to burst with rage at it: and if you were to see
“them, you would think as I do. I am of opinion that
“you ought to go back; there is business enough for
“you to do, without going to the Louvre.”

This agreement of discourses, notes, and advices, struck me at length: I stopped short; and after consulting with Vitry, and ten or twelve of the principal persons who followed me, I thought it was the most prudent way to return home; and accordingly I contented myself with sending to offer my duty and services to the queen; and to assure her, at the same time, that, till she acquainted me with her orders, I would, with still greater assiduity than before, attend to the care of the Bastile, the Arsenal, the forces, and ordnance, and all the affairs of my government, and other employments.

“orders. He desired to be excused, because he had notice given him
“that some designs were formed against him.—The determination he came
“to, on consulting with the duke of Guise, the count of Bethune, and
“some other friends, was to stay at home the rest of that day, and to see the
“queen on the day following, when the duke of Guise promised to come
“and fetch him, and assured him, that he and all his friends would lose
“their lives before they would suffer any harm to be done him. He went
“back to the queen, and got her approbation of the considerations that de-
“tained the duke of Sully, upon the promise he had made of coming
“to wait on her the next day. Immediately afterwards the duke
“of Sully, with a number of gentlemen, went into the Bastile, where
“he had caused all the bread to be brought that was found in the ba-
“kers’ shops in Paris.” &c. Hist. of Lewis XIII. p. 2 and 3. If we
add to this, what the duke of Sully says of the notice he had received
from every quarter, that this blow would be followed by terrible con-
sequences which were not expected, we shall perhaps, be convinced,
that it was only prudent in this minister to act thus, for the sake of the
public tranquillity and his own safety.

The reader must not expect to see in these Memoirs a more particular relation of this execrable crime: my grief is renewed by the sad remembrance of it, nor shall I cease to lament it but when I cease to live. It is with astonishment that I behold persons capable of hearing and speaking with coldness and insensibility of the greatest misfortune which ever befel this kingdom; in me the thought of it is attended with such horror, that I turn my eyes as much as possible from that deplorable object, and my tongue refuses to pronounce the name of the abominable monster* who was the cause of all our miseries; while inwardly I implore the divine ven-

* Francis Ravallac was born at Angoulême, where he followed the profession of a schoolmaster, and was at this time between thirty-one and thirty-two years old. Matthieu thinks he was mad; but I can find nothing in his discourse, either during his imprisonment, or at the time of his execution, that affords any reason to charge him with madness, taking that word in its most usual sense, but only with fool-hardiness, fury, and a dis-tempered mind. On Thursday the 27th of May, he was brought before the church of Nôtre-Dame, where he performed the *amende honorable*; from thence he was carried to the Gréve, and there his breast, arms, thighs, &c. were torn with red-hot pincers, &c. he holding the knife in his right hand; after that, melted lead, and boiling oil and pitch, were poured on his wounds; and at last he was torn to pieces by four horses; his members were burned, and his ashes thrown into the air. The furious crowd were every moment ready to rush upon him and tear him to pieces, and refused to sing the *salve*. He was somewhat tall and bulky, and of so robust a make, that the horses could not tear him to pieces, but the executioner was obliged to cut him into quarters, which the populace dragged about the city, &c. See the historians quoted above. Pasquier says he was related on the mother's side, to Poltrot, who assassinated the duke of Guise; *ibid.* p. 32. I do not find there is any appearance of truth in what Guy Patin relates, (letter 122,) of Ravallac having a brother who died in Holland, and who, on his death-bed, declared, that if his brother had miscarried in his attempt, he himself would have undertaken the same thing, to revenge, as he said, the injury Henry IV had done them in debauching their sister, and neglecting her afterwards.

geance against him, and against those who armed his impious hand; the public outcry directs us to the authors of this detestable plot; nor can I hinder myself from exclaiming, with all the world, against a circumstance, of which no one is ignorant. After the parricide had perpetrated his horrid design, he was guarded with so little care in the house* to which he was first carried, that during four hours all sorts of persons were permitted to see him and talk to him; and certain persons whom it is not necessary to name here, made such an imprudent use of this liberty, that they were heard to call him *Friend*, and bid him, I repeat their own words, *take care that he did not accuse good men who were innocent, and good Catholics*, because that would be an unpardonable crime, and worthy of eternal damnation. Some persons, truly scandalized at what they saw, loudly exclaimed against such negligence; which obliged them afterwards to guard the murderer with more care.

However that may be, such was the tragical end of a prince, on whom nature, with a lavish profusion, had bestowed all her advantages, except that of a death such as he merited. I have already observed, that his stature was so happy, and his limbs formed with such proportion, as constitutes not only what is called a well-made man, but indicates strength, vigour, and activity;† his

* In the hôtel de Retz. L'Etoile says he was carried the next day from the hôtel d'Epernon to the Conciégerie.

† "Henry IV," says le Grain, "was of a middling stature, rather tall than low; his forehead was broad, his nose aquiline and *royal*, his mouth finely formed, and his lips red," &c. *Decade de Henry le Grand*, book i. Morizot, being worse informed, says, on the contrary, that he was low, and of square make: and asserts, that he dressed himself nearly in the same manner in winter as in summer, chap. xlix.

complexion was animated; all the lineaments of his face had that agreeable liveliness* which forms a sweet and happy physiognomy, and perfectly suited to that engaging easiness of manners which, though sometimes mixed with majesty, never lost the graceful affability and easy gayety† so natural to that great prince. With

* D'Aubigné informs us, that he had an extreme piercing sight, and (to make use of his own words) a monstrous quick hearing; of which he gives this convincing proof: "The king," says he, "being in bed at la Garnache, in a large state-chamber; and his bed, besides the curtains, being surrounded with a thick frize, Frontenac and I laid in the opposite corner of the room, in a bed furnished in the same manner; and joking about the king, I having my lips close to his ear, and lowering my voice as much as possible, he often asked, 'What dost thou say?' The king answered, 'Deaf as you are, can't you hear he says, I want to make two friends by doing one good office?' We got off by desiring him to go to sleep, for we had still a great deal more to say of him." Vol. III. chap. xxi. The answer which the duke of Bellegarde made to this prince, is much of the same kind with this; when both of them lying in the same room, shortly after the death of Henry III. Henry IV waked Bellegarde three or four times in the night, to persuade him to give up some of the posts he enjoyed, in favour of some persons the king named to him: "I will with all my heart, sire," says the master of the horse at last; "but, for God's sake, don't wake me any more." This taste for raillery and joking, as is always the case on such occasions, from the prince's example, passed to his courtiers: and Siri, with some appearance of reason, blames Henry IV on this account, condemning it as a fault in a king; raillery never failing to create quarrels amongst the great, and always diminishing the reverence due to the prince: he produces many examples of this. Mem. recond. Vol. I. p. 560.

† The history of Henry IV furnishes innumerable instances of his turn for pleasantry, and of his affable and popular manner of address; which perhaps contributed more than his great qualities to procure him the love of the people. "The king," say the Mem. for the Hist. of France, Vol. II. p. 267, "going one day to the Louvre, and meeting a poor woman driving a cow, he stopt her; and asked the price of the cow: the woman having told him the price, '*Ventre-saint-gris!*' says the king, 'she is not worth that; I will give you so much.' 'I see,' replied the woman, 'you are not a dealer in cows.' 'What makes you think so?' says the king, who had many noblemen with him. 'Don't you see all these calves are fol-

regard to the qualities of his heart and mind, I shall tell the reader nothing new, by saying that he was candid, sincere, grateful, compassionate, generous,* wise, pene-

“lowing me?” His gardener at Fontainebleau once complaining to him, that he could not make any thing grow in that soil; “Friend,” says Henry, looking at the duke d’Epernon, “sow it with Gascons, they will thrive any where.” A man who was an extraordinary great eater being shewn him he said, “*Ventre-saint-gris!* if I had six men like thee in my kingdom, I should hang them all; such rascals would soon create a famine.” It is also related of him, that having one day boasted to the Spanish ambassador, that he would go to breakfast at Milan, hear mass at Rome, and dine at Naples; that ambassador answered, “Sire, if your majesty goes so fast, “perhaps you may go to vespers in Sicily” He was never displeased at any repartees that were made to him of this kind. Matthieu says, not one of his court was able to tell a story so agreeable as he.

* “As to his enemies, he always spoke of them with respect, even when he was very young, how much soever he was offended with them: he never named any one of his enemies without giving him the title of *Monsieur*.” Le Grain’s *Decade*, book viii. “All the forests in my kingdom would not be sufficient,” said he, “to furnish timber for gallowses, if all those who have written or preached against me were to be hanged.” When he had been prevailed on to read some libels on the late queen, his mother, he shrugged up his shoulders, saying, “O, the wretch! but he returned to France under protection of my passport; and I will not have any harm done to him.” *Merc. Franç. ann.* 1610, pag. 428. He shewed not the same indulgence where offence was given to other persons, as in his own case. “On Twelfth-day, as the king was going to receive the communion, M. de Roquelaure, judging this the fittest opportunity to apply for the pardon he was desirous to obtain for Saint-Chamand (Francis d’Haute-fort) his cousin, who had caused the lieutenant-general de Tulles Peter de Fenis, sieur du Teil) to be whipped, without any reason, and for which his majesty had ordered him to be exemplarily punished, came to the king, and besought him to pardon Saint Chamand, for the love of that God he was going to receive, and who would only forgive those who had forgiven those that had offended them; whom the king answered, fixing his eyes on him, ‘Begone, and let me alone; I am surprised you dare make this request to me, when I am going to declare to God, my resolution to do justice, and to ask his pardon for not having done it.’” *Mem. pour l’Hist. de France*, Vol. II. p. 262. He replied to M. le Grand, who importuned him in favour of the son of the count de la Martiniere, who was

trating; in a word, endowed with all those great and amiable qualities which in these Memoirs he has so often had occasion of admiring in him.

He loved all his subjects as a father, and the whole state as the head of a family: and it was this disposition that recalled him even from the midst of his pleasures, to the care of rendering his people happy, and his kingdom flourishing: hence proceeded his readiness in conceiving, and his industry in perfecting, a great number of useful regulations; many I have already specified: and I shall sum up all, by saying, that there were no conditions, employments, or professions, to which his reflections did not extend; and that with such clearness and penetration, that the changes he projected could not be overthrown by the death of their author, as it but too often happened in this monarchy. It was his desire, he said, that glory might influence his last years, and make them, at once, useful to the world, and acceptable to God: his was a mind, in which the ideas of what is great, uncommon, and beautiful, seemed to rise of themselves: hence it was, that he looked upon adversity as a mere transitory evil, and prosperity as his natural state. He had drained fens, in order to a greater work than any he had yet undertaken, which was to

condemned to suffer death for having killed his sister; "That after he was executed he would grant him his ashes: to another nobleman he said, 'If he had been the father of that wretch he would not have interceded for him.' He made a merry, though a Christian, reply to another; '*Ventre-saint-gris!*' said he to him, scratching his head, 'I have sins enough on my head already, without adding this to them.'" *L'Etoile*, part ii. p. 115. Somebody wanting to persuade him to punish the author of the *Isles des Hermaphrodites*, "It would offend my conscience," says he, "to give any man trouble for only speaking the truth."

make, by canals, a communication from sea to sea, and from river to river: he wanted only time to complete this noble project.

He often said, that there were ten things which he entreated God to grant him, from whence arose that saying, *The ten wishes of Henry IV.* He had not the good fortune to obtain them all: they were as follows: 1. Grace, and spiritual blessings. 2. To preserve till death the use of all the faculties of his mind and body. 3. To see the religion he had formerly professed in a fixed and peaceful situation. 4. To be delivered from his wife, (it is the first he here means,) and to find one whose temper suited with his own, that would bring him princes whom he might live to form and educate himself. 5. To restore France to its ancient splendour. 6. To gain from Spain, by conquest, either Navarre, or Flanders and Artois. 7. To gain a battle in person against the king of Spain, and another against the grand seignior, a piece of good fortune for which he greatly envied Don John of Austria. 8. To bring back to its duty, without being obliged to have recourse to violent measures, the Huguenot faction, headed by the dukes of Bouillon, la Tremouille, &c. And on this subject he added a 9th, To see those two men, and the duke d'Epemon, reduced to implore his clemency. It was a long time before he would declare the 10th, which regarded the accomplishment of his great designs: and as in those designs he had two principal objects in view, it was necessary to divide this wish into two; and first, with regard to religion, he was desirous of reducing that prodigious number of religions with which all Europe was filled and divided, to three principal ones at

least, since it was not possible to reunite them all under one faith: the other was wholly political, and related to the number, the territory, and equality, of the European powers, of whom he designed to compose that kind of great republic upon the plan I shall lay before the reader presently.

I should destroy all I have now said of this great prince, if, after having praised him for an infinite number of qualities well worthy to be praised, I did not acknowledge that they were balanced by faults, and those indeed very great. I have not concealed, or even palliated his passion for women; his excess in gaming; his gentleness often carried to weakness; nor his propensity to every kind of pleasure: I have neither disguised the faults they made him commit, the foolish expenses they led him into, nor the time they made him waste: but I have likewise observed, (to do justice on both sides,) that his enemies have greatly exaggerated all these errors. If he was, as they say, a slave to women, yet they never regulated his choice of ministers, decided the destinies of his servants, or influenced the deliberations of his council. As much may be said in extenuation of all his other faults. And to sum up all, in a word, what he has done is sufficient to show, that the good and bad in his character had no proportion to each other; and that since honour and fame have always had power enough to tear him from pleasure, we ought to acknowledge these to have been his great and real passions.

I have a letter by me, which he made Loménie write for him, because he had, as he said, a slight hurt in his thumb; it is dated from Chantilly, April 8, but without date of the year. I believe the reader will not be dis-

pleased to hear him speak himself upon this subject. At the beginning of the letter he tells me, that his reason for entering upon it with me, was the public discourse concerning him; for he used to divert himself with hearing all that was said of him, from Roquelaure, Frontenac, le Riviere, du Laurens, d'Arambure, Morlas, Salette, la Varenne, Bonniers, du John, Béringhen, l'Oseria, Armagnac, Jacquinot, Perroton, and some others with whom he conversed familiarly, and who often acquitted themselves very faithfully of the order he gave them to conceal from him nothing that was said to his disadvantage.

He began with telling me, that his enemies accused him with having neglected and despised (these are his words,) the greatest and most deserving men in the kingdom; and consuming, in vain and useless expenses, that money which they alleged would be better employed in gratuities to them.* “Some,” pursued he, “blame me “for being too fond of buildings and great works; others, “for liking hunting, dogs, and birds; one says that I have “a passion for cards, dice, and other kind of gaming; “another condemns me for my attachment to women, “to the pleasures of the table, to assemblies, plays, “balls, running at the ring, and other amusements o “that kind;† where,” say they, “I appear as gay and

* “They say I am niggardly,” says he: “but I do three things very “inconsistent with a covetous disposition; for I make a war, I make “love, and I build.” *Le Grain*, book, viii. “Some looked on him as a covetous man, but they could be only those who did not know the great necessities he had to struggle with; which were even so great, that during “the siege of Dieppe, he could truly say, he was a king without a kingdom, a husband without a wife, and that he made war without money.” *Merc. Franç. ann. 1610*, p. 485.

† “At feasts he was lively; at tournaments as expert as any one; he was

“lively, with my gray beard, and am as proud of hav-
 “ing gained the goal, and received a ring from some
 “fair lady, as I could have been in my youth, or as the
 “vainest young fellow of the court. I do not deny (adds
 “he) but there is some truth in all this; but if I am
 “guilty of no excesses in these pleasures, my conduct
 “deserves more praise than blame; and indeed some
 “little indulgences I ought to have, in amusements
 “which bring no inconvenience upon my people, in
 “consideration of the labours I have endured from
 “my infancy to fifty years old. I have heard you say,
 “when any one censured your actions, that we are not
 “commanded by scripture to have absolutely no sins
 “and errors, because there are some infirmities inse-
 “parable from humanity; but only not to suffer them
 “to enslave us and control our wills: and this has
 “been my endeavour, since I could not do better.* You
 “know that on many occasions wherein my mistresses
 “have been concerned, (and my passion for women is,
 “of all others, said to have the most empire over me,)
 “I have supported you against them, and have gone so
 “far as to tell them, that I would rather lose ten such

“gay over a bottle, though naturally grave; his sprightliness, and the
 “smartness of his repartees, furnished the most pleasing part of the feast:
 “he discovered as much address and courage at tilts, running at the ring.
 “and in all other gentlemanlike exercises, as any one of the young nobili-
 “ty; he even took delight in balls, and sometimes danced, though, to speak
 “the truth, with more spirit than gracefulness.” *Prefixe*, p. 380.

* “I every day,” said this prince, “pray to God for three things; first,
 “that he would be pleased to pardon my enemies; secondly, to grant me
 “the victory over my passions, and especially sensuality; thirdly, that I
 “may make a right use of the authority he has given me, and never abuse
 “it. I would willingly do as they say,” added he, speaking of the remon-
 “strances sometimes made to him by the bishop and other ecclesiastics,”
 “but they do not think I know what they do.” *Matthieu*, Vol. II. p. 838.

“mistresses as they, than one such servant as you: and
“this, I assure you, you shall hear me say again, if ne-
“cessary; for when an opportunity offers for executing
“those glorious designs which you know I have long
“formed, you shall find that I can quit my mistresses,
“dogs, horses, gaming, buildings, and entertainments,
“to acquire honour and fame; for I hold it to be my
“principal duty, next to those I owe to God, my wife,
“my children, my faithful servants and my people,
“whom I love as my children,* to make myself be es-
“teemed as a prince who is religiously faithful to his
“word.” &c.

But it is now time to resume the disagreeable reci-
tal of what happened after the death of this good prince;
for however painful that recital may appear to me,
these memoirs ought not to conclude till that period,
when I ceased to have a share in the affairs of the go-
vernment.

I had but just entered the street Saint Antonie, and
the gentleman whom I sent with the before mentioned
message to the queen could not have had time to deli-
ver it, when I saw a messenger from her majesty, who
entreated me, from her, to come instantly to the Lou-
vre, and to bring as few persons as possible with me,
she having things of great consequence to impart to
me. This proposal of going alone to the Louvre to de-
liver myself into the hands of my enemies, with whom
I knew it was full, was not very proper to remove my
suspicions. Besides, I was that moment informed, that

* “I have only two eyes and two feet,” said this good prince; “in what
“respect then do I differ from my subjects, but that I am invested with the
“power of executing justice?”

an exempt of the guards, and some archers, had been seen at the first gates of the arsenal; that others had been sent to the Temple, where the powder was lodged; and some to the treasurer of the exchequer, to stop all the money there. I drew so unfavourable an augury from all this being done without consulting me, that I did not hesitate a moment about the answer I should send to the queen. I sent a gentleman to tell her, that I was very certain, when she had heard what the person whom I had the honour to depute to her had to say, she would enter into my reasons, and alter her opinion; and that I would expect her answer at the arsenal and the Bastile, from whence I should not remove.

The queen did not stop there; she sent to me immediately messieurs de Montbazon, de Praslin, de Schomberg, la Varenne, and after them my brother. I knew not what to think of this importunity; but when I saw them all arrive within a quarter of an hour of each other, my suspicions were increased, and I resolved not to go to the Louvre that day: the condition I was in was alone a sufficient excuse. The effort I had made after my bathing in the morning, and after a very slight repast; the state of my mind, far more painful than that of my body; both together had thrown me into so violent a perspiration, that my clothes were quite wet; and into so great a weakness, that I could no longer support myself; therefore, as soon as I got to my apartment in the Bastile, whither I first went, I was obliged to change my shirt, and go to bed, where I was resolved to continue till the next day. The constable and the duke d'Epemon came to visit me, and offered me their services; and the manner in which they advised me to wait upon

the queen making me judge I might do it without running any danger, I at length yielded, upon the condition they still insisted on, that I should be attended only by a small number of persons: and I resolved to go to the Louvre the next day.

Three hundred persons on horseback waited for my coming out, that they might accompany me as the day before; these were all either relations, friends or persons seemingly attached to me from the appearance of the new favour I was like to be in, or perhaps from the shame of quitting me too precipitately. I thanked them all, and told them my reasons for not admitting of an escort that might appear in any degree remarkable, and for confining myself to that small number which usually composed my train. And accordingly it was with my own domestics only, to the number of twenty, or thereabouts, that I arrived at the Louvre. On my entrance, I perceived the marks of sincere grief in those who had by any employment been attached to the deceased king: of these, the officers and subalterns seemed to feel, with the most tender sensibility, the public loss. As I passed through the several gates I saw them advance to meet and embrace me with tears in their eyes, or heard them sigh as they saw me pass, and earnestly conjure me not to abandon the children, after having so well served the father.

It is with regret I am obliged to confess, that the interior of the palace, and what is called the court, presented me a very different object; there I only saw faces either calm and composed, and, which afflicted me so much the more, as they endeavoured, but in vain, to appear afflicted; or faces so gay, as added indignation

to my grief. When I came into the queen's presence, all the little constancy with which I had armed myself so totally left me, that I broke into tears and cries. She no longer found in herself that fortitude with which she had prepared to see me: and we together made up a scene truly affecting. She gave orders that the young king should be brought to me, whose tender caresses gave a new assault to my heart, which I could with the utmost difficulty sustain. I cannot remember what this young prince then said to me, or what I said to him; all I know is, that they were scarce able to tear him from my arms, in which I held him closely embraced. "My son," said the queen his mother to him, "this is M. de Sully; you must love him well, for he was one of the best and most faithful servants of the king your father, and I intreat him to continue to serve you in the same manner." The queen and I had some other discourse together, without being able to cease weeping for a moment: she afterwards said, that it was the sight of me, and one other person in the court, with which she had been most affected.

A reception attended with such marks of distinction and confidence, reduced all the princes, lords, and members of the council, who were near the queen, to the necessity of outvying each other in protestations of friendship, service, and attachment: yet certainly they did not deceive me, for I knew their hearts as well as themselves: I was convinced already, that in the scheme they had formed of taking advantage of the present conjuncture, to increase their riches, and arrogate new dignities to themselves, though at the expense of the good of the state, the honour of the king, and the public welfare, I might be sure of being the mark at which all their blows

would be aimed; because they themselves had reason to expect, in the firmness of my mind, and the severity of my regulations, insurmountable obstacles to their designs: of this they had already examples sufficient to convince them, that the only part they had to take was to endeavour to get me removed entirely from the administration of affairs; therefore, when, in the sequel, they raised all sorts of batteries against me in the queen's opinion, (taking it for granted that they had not done it before,) when the Jesuits and their adherents made the nuncio solicit the arret for my dismissal, when my colleagues in the council and the finances set Conchini and his wife to work, to insinuate to the two princes of the blood, that they would never have any real authority while I continued to be at the head of affairs; and that if they removed me from the administration, it must necessarily fall into their hands; when they made all the others believe, that to depend upon Conchini was to be truly great; in a word, when I saw them all labouring with equal ardour for my fall, nothing more happened than what I had foreseen and foretold.

The first thing the parliament proceeded to, after the king's death was declared, was to appoint the queen-mother regent. It was thought necessary that the young king should go to the parliament in person, to hold his bed of justice, and confirm this nomination.* The morning after the king's assassination was appointed for this ceremony. It was scarce light when I received a

* See the form and particulars of this ceremony in the *Merc. Franc.* and other historians, anno 1610. In the council which met to advise whether the queen ought to go to the parliament, the duke of Sully only said, "That as there was no law to forbid the queen's going to the parliament, "it was a matter of indifference whether she went or not." Matthieu, *ibid.* p. 4.

message from the queen, desiring I would attend his majesty thither. I made every excuse I could think of to avoid it; I even feigned myself so much indisposed, that it would be impossible for me to get out of bed the whole of that day. I felt, indeed, an extreme repugnance against doing what they required of me: but it was absolutely necessary to give the queen this satisfaction, who importuned me incessantly. The sound of the drums and musical instruments giving new force to my grief, and judging that a face bathed with tears would but ill suit with the shouts of gratulation and joy with which every place resounded; I pressed through the crowd, and was amongst the first in the hall of the Augustins, where the parliament was held.

Two or three cardinals, who, like me, had been desirous of avoiding the press, were, with some other persons, already in the hall, and had taken their seats at the upper end of the bench destined for the ecclesiastics, which was on the left side of the throne prepared for his majesty: the bishops of Langres, Beauvais, and Noyon, coming in afterwards, these gentlemen, who had taken it into their heads that their rank of peers gave them a right to precede the princes and cardinals in parliament, would not sit below the latter, who they found had already placed themselves, but went to the bench on the right hand, and took their seats at the upper end of it: I found them there when I entered, and told them with great civility, that it was not their place, and advised them, as their friend, to go to the left side, since they could not expect that the temporal peers, who would enter immediately, would suffer them quietly to keep possession of the right side. They were going to stun me with their usual distinctions of peers of an old-

er creation and spiritual peers, which in their opinions raised them greatly above the new dukes. The debate was not carried to any length by me; I only told them, that they would soon be convinced who was in the right: which accordingly happened. The affair was instantly decided, and they were obliged to go over to the left side, where, finding the cardinals not disposed to give them the upper hand, they chose to retire, rather than submit to this regulation, and did not assist at the ceremony. As for me, though I was present, I interposed no farther in the dispute. The queen had reason to be satisfied with what passed;* every thing was granted her, without even collecting the votes.

It was not long before I discovered, that although they affected to neglect none of the formalities which are generally observed in settling a lawful regency, although they would have the alterations, which they already suffered to be perceived in the administration, pass for the common and necessary effect of a change of government; in a word, although they strove to create a belief, that their sole view, by this mode of government, was to give more strength and grandeur to the authority of an infant king; yet those by whose advice the queen acted, thought of nothing, in reality, but how, under this mask, to aggrandise themselves. All that show of regularity vanished upon a nearer view; while, in its place we beheld real violations of order, which terrified the few, the very few good subjects still remaining. I thought myself obliged, and in some degree intitled, to make them sensible that I saw these abuses, and that I disapproved of them: but the time of free remonstrances, which the grief for the king's death the first day, and

* See the historians quoted before, for the manner of this ceremony.

the distraction of affairs the second, suffered still to subsist, was past on the third: nor was it much longer before they entirely shook off the yoke of constraint, and appeared no more with a composure of behaviour, and an affectation of sorrow, which had done too much violence to their real sentiments: stupidity, or the want of a true subject for joy, produced this effect in some; in others, their natural levity of temper; and in others, the mere movement of public and private affairs; but, above all, the fear of displeasing those persons whose examples gave laws to the court.

Let us take a view then of this new world after the three first days. To judge from exterior appearances, and all that was done to strike the attention; the Louvre might have been supposed to be still a place of mourning; all the refinements of melancholy pomp were to be found there; the hangings with which the ceilings, the walls, and floors were covered; the furniture, and all the insignia of public mourning, made the apartments of state in this palace look like the dismal abode of death and sorrow. But on going a little farther, and considering the countenances and behaviour of those who were appointed to do the honours of this sad ceremony, the thing appeared a little doubtful; for if there were some among them who shed real tears, and whose sighs indeed proceeded from the heart, there were others who gave sufficient indications of very different emotions. And on descending from thence, and visiting the lower apartments, which were called the ground-floors, there a true notion might be formed of the disposition all hearts were in; there that magnificence which was banished from every other part of the palace found an

asylum: gold, purple, embroidery, and the most sumptuous ornaments, made this a scene of pleasure and delight; luxury was there in its utmost profusion. Myself, and a small number of true Frenchmen, never entered those apartments, without feeling our hearts torn with grief and rage; to behold, in a place where every object ought to have reminded us of the public loss, all the appearance of joy, triumph, and exultation. I blush to say, that notwithstanding the artifice which was used to conceal this spectacle of insensibility and ingratitude from the eyes of the public, yet it was too often disclosed, by the bursts of laughter, the exclamations of joy, and the songs of gladness, which were heard to proceed from those places: nor indeed were they filled with any but happy persons, or those who believed themselves so. Here it was that the true court resided, and where the councils were held, as well those general ones which were called for show, and compliance with custom, as the private ones, wherein they knew how to render ineffectual all the prudent resolutions that had been taken in the former.

The queen admitted none into these secret councils, which were held at the most unseasonable hours, but Conchini and his wife, the pope's nuncio, the Spanish ambassador, the chancellor, and the chevalier de Sille-ry, the duke d'Epemon, Villeroi, Jeannin, and Arnaud, (who, as well as Jeannin, from having been entirely devoted to me, became no less attached to Conchini,) Duret the physician, (who, however, soon fell from this high degree of favour,) Dollé, and father Cotton. It is not difficult to guess the subjects of their consultations; the union of the crowns of France and Spain, the renouncing of all the most ancient alliances of the for-

mer with foreign princes, the repealing of all edicts of pacification, the destruction of the Protestants, the expulsion of all of them who were in place, the disgrace of those who would not bend to the yoke of the new favourites, the dissipation of the treasures amassed by the deceased king, and applied by them to bribe the covetous and ambitious to their interests, and to load with riches and authority those who were going to be raised to the first dignities of the state; in a word, a thousand projects as pernicious to the king and the kingdom, as advantageous to our greatest enemies, made up the grand object of all their views.

To the public council, which was held punctually every day, were summoned the prince of Conti and the count of Soissons, (the prince of Condé was not yet returned to France,) the cardinal de Joyeuse, the constable, the dukes of Maïenne and Guise, and the duke of Bouillon, as soon as he should arrive, marshal Brisac, Châteauneuf, Pontcarré, de Vic,* Caumartin, and myself. Some of these gentlemen loudly exclaimed against altering our system of politics: but the subject most frequently discussed by this council, was upon the means of increasing the royal revenues, of diminishing the taille and other imposts, and of augmenting the pensions of the grandees, and procuring them several other advantages. The president Jeannin, ever loud and obstinate, made himself be heard above all the

* Dominic de Vic, vice-admiral, &c. who has been mentioned before: he died this year at Paris, soon after his return from Calais, of which he was governor; it was asserted, that his death was occasioned by the grief he was seized with, on seeing again the place to which he had seen the corpse of Henry IV brought after he was assassinated. *Merc. Franç. an. 1610, p. 529.*

others. It was said, this man had been known to promise mountains of gold to every one. Some persons, who still retained the candour and frankness of the old council, and who could neither disguise their own sentiments, nor flatter those of others, joined their endeavours to mine, to show the gross contradiction there was in pretending to increase the expenses, while they were diminishing the revenues.

I was desirous of avoiding the reproach of my own conscience, for suffering, by my silence, such maxims to gain ground: I at first combated them by arguments, and flattered myself, that if the advantage was to remain on the side of reason, we should have carried our point: but we soon found that ignorance was but the least of those vices we had to encounter. It was by the most magnificent promises (of which, however, those that related to the people's relief were never performed) that the new government sought to make friends, and to obliterate, and even to bring into contempt, that wise frugality to which the glory of the last reign was owing. Jeannin, indeed, had a particular end to answer by these measures; his scheme being to get the entire disposal of the finances, what better methods could be made use of to raise himself to this post, than to insinuate, that in the new superintendant they should all find that facility and readiness to oblige, which the *grande*es complained they had not met with in the old one? It may be said, that he had not the abilities requisite for this employment, which he at length obtained; but he knew how to enrich by it himself, his relations, and allies, especially Castille,* with whom money must cer-

* Peter de Castille was comptroller-general, and superintendant of the finances.

tainly have been of very little value, since all those pieces of furniture which in other houses are made of iron, or wood, in his were of silver: in this point of magnificence he was inferior to none but Conchini.

I was fully convinced that I was offering remedies to voluntary ills, when I saw that my freedom of speech, which had at first been suffered, as being an habitual fault, began to appear so troublesome, that I easily read upon every countenance the pain it gave them to restrain themselves; and that they would soon get rid of those small remains of respect. From that time I looked upon myself as a man who would very soon become something worse than useless, and seriously took a resolution to disengage myself by degrees from a place where I could not support my former reputation without infinite danger, or swim with the stream without total dishonour: for, indeed, what influence could the voice of one man, who had nothing but harsh things to say, have over a queen who was used to the alluring language and servile complaisance of flatterers and new favourites? It is so rare a thing for a minister to support himself with his sovereign, by such sentiments alone as arise from a veneration mixed with awe, (which, however, will always be the case if that minister be an honest man,) that one ought not to expect such a miracle will happen in two reigns successively; therefore, when my relations, my friends, and my domestics, whose affection for me made them see things in a very different light, united their endeavours to prevail upon me to continue my cares, which they assured me might still be useful; or even, when they represented to me that it was possible some good might be extracted from the new plan, my usual answer was, that the blow

which God had permitted, was so plain a declaration that he had delivered up France to her evil destiny, that to endeavour to hinder its effect, was to tempt his vengeance. One of my people, that very Arnaud whom I mentioned a little above, had the insolence to say to me one day, when he saw me extremely dejected with this thought, that I was much to blame to afflict myself thus about what might happen; that for the future there might be very considerable sums laid up in the exchequer, which the great expenses of the deceased king in buildings, gaming, dogs, birds, and mistresses, rendered it impossible to do while he was living. This speech appeared so criminal in his mouth, that, in the first emotions of my rage, I called him base, wicked, and ungrateful; threatened to strike him, and forbade him ever to appear in my presence again. It was but too true what I reproached him with in that moment, that his base compliances, and wicked counsels, were going to open the first way to dissipation and disorder.

II. The count of Soissons was not at Paris during these transactions. Some disgust which he had taken at the queen's coronation, on account of the robes which the king's natural* children were to appear in there, furnished him with a pretence for retiring to one of his houses, so that he was not a witness of any thing that passed, either as to the king's death, or on the following days; and did not come to Paris till after the queen was declared regent, and all the other dispositions made. This was a new subject for his complaints. He was greatly offended that they had proceeded to a business

* It was on account of the dutchess of Vendôme's robes. The king had a great desire that she, like the other princesses of the blood-royal, should wear them sprinkled with flower-de-luces, which the count of Soissons would never consent to.

of such importance as settling the regency, without giving him notice of it, and even without staying till he could be present; for he affirmed, that this ceremony could not be performed without him: and taking it into his head, that, to make himself feared, it was only necessary that he should bluster and talk high, he found fault with many things in the form of this ceremony, boasting that no person would have courage enough to say, in his presence, that only a small number of the presidents and counsellors concurred in the nomination of the queen in the first meeting of the parliament; and added, that on the following day, when the king, the princes, the cardinals, the peers, and other officers of the crown, were present, being afraid that, if the question was put to the vote, they should meet with opposition, they contented themselves with a mere confirmation of the act of the foregoing day. He saw plainly that he would not be listened to, unless he could make his party very considerable, and, for this purpose, he constrained himself so far, as to seek the friendship of several courtiers, with whom he had not the least connection. But there were two things which obstructed his success; his haughty and insolent temper, and the preference the courtiers thought their interest required they should give to others, who they found were likely to have the disposal of all favours; and being as much disliked by the princes, and his own brother, the prince of Conti, as by all the rest, he found himself obliged at length to yield.

I was one of those whom, for some time, the count of Soissons was desirous of calling friend, but it was not long before he gave me every proof of his being a real enemy; and upon the following occasion. The count had often pressed the late king upon an affair of which

I have already made some mention: it was to make an agreement with him for some claims, which he alleged he had in Piedmont, in right of his wife, who was of the house of Montaffié: his importunity obliged Henry to remit the examination of this matter to me; and the profession I have always made of sincerity and attachment to the interests of my king, forced me to represent to him, that this step would be attended with great inconvenience to him; that he was going to engage himself in processes without number, and without end, against the pope, the apostolical chamber, the duke of Savoy, and several cardinals, all of whom had pretensions upon these estates, and many already in possession of them; and that he would not be able to extricate himself in less than ten years out of that maze of different interests; and it being necessary, for the advancement of his great designs, that he should keep on good terms with the pope and the duke of Savoy, he must carefully avoid entering into any discussion which might make them his enemies. There needed no more to make Henry lay aside all thought of it.

Upon the death of this prince, the count of Soissons resumed this affair with the new council. In every thing which might be considered as a matter of mere favour, he did not scruple to form any intrigue which might procure him what he demanded. I am almost ashamed to repeat the methods he made use of to attain his ends. The count, with the assistance of Conchini, counterfeited the signature, and made use of the seal of the deceased king; and thus gave an authentic form to a pretended contract of sale between king Henry and him, for all the estates in question. To make this writing less liable to a suspicion of an antedate, they thought

it necessary that my name should appear there, which obliged them to request my signature; and this was the greatest difficulty they had to get over. They represented to me, that the moment was now come, which would absolutely fix the count either as my friend or my enemy. They brought a thousand other motives to prevail upon me: but I still persisted, not only to refuse my signature, but also to assert publicly, that this affair having been begun and ended by Henry and myself, no one could know better than I did, that his intentions were absolutely contrary to what they were now endeavouring to persuade me of; and I told them plainly, that they presented me a deed falsely signed and sealed; so that, despairing to vanquish my obstinacy, they drew up another contract like the former in every respect, except that my name was omitted.

The count of Soissons and I were upon these terms when he quarrelled publicly with his brother, the prince of Conti, and, on his account, with the whole family of Guise.* The queen sent for me to acquaint me with the expedients she had thought of to accommodate all

* This quarrel arose from the coaches of those two princes having been driven against one another, and their coachmen having fought. The duke of Guise going the day after to the prince of Conti, by the queen's order, to endeavour to make up this difference, went by the count of Soissons' palace, with about twenty-five or thirty horse. Nothing more was requisite to set the count at variance with him also; and this double quarrel raised so great an uproar in Paris, that the queen, being afraid of a general insurrection, gave orders that all the inhabitants should hold themselves in readiness to put up the chains, and take arms all over the city, at the first order; and she sent two captains of the guards to keep near each of the two princes. We must look in Bassompierre's *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 308, et seq. for all the particulars of these differences, since he himself contributed greatly to appease them. See also *l'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils*, Vol. I. p. 123, and *Le Merc. Frang.* anno 1611, in which is contained what the duke of Sully said to the queen in favour of the duke of Guise.

their differences, which were to be tried when the council was met; and, till then, she intreated me not to espouse the cause of either party, that I might, with greater propriety, act the part of a mediator between both, when the time for it came; to which I readily agreed. Accordingly, when we were seated in council, where the affair was to be treated, and I had already given my opinion favourably for the count, this prince sent Brisac to tell the queen, in a whisper, that he intreated her not to permit any of those persons, who were held in suspicion by him, to deliberate upon this matter, and that he excepted against me* in particular, as being a kinsman and friend to the house of Guise. "He ought not to except against M. de Sully," replied the queen aloud; "for there is no person in the council whose judgment has been so favourable to him as his." I confess I was greatly shocked at this treatment, and I could not help saying, as I rose up, "Madam, I except against myself, since he desires it; and I am going this moment to offer my service to his brother, and to M. de Guise."

The third quarrel I had with the count of Soissons happened, as the former, in the council, on occasion of the government of Normandy, which he wanted to have conferred upon himself. The queen desired to have my opinion, which I begged she would dispense with me from giving; but, not being able to prevail, I told her that it was impossible for me to advise her to

* The author of the life of the duke d'Epemon informs us, that the count of Soissons carried his hatred to the duke of Sully so far, as to solicit the duke to suffer him to get that minister assassinated even in the Louvre; and that he took it much amiss, the duke d'Epemon refused him the assistance of the guards, whom he commanded, to strike this blow. Page 249.

take from the deceased king's children the offices and employments they were already possessed of, to bestow upon any other person whatever. And at that time the count of Soissons and Conchini were not upon good terms with each other, and this prince had even opposed the favourite's getting the post of first gentleman of the bed-chamber for himself, and the archbishopric of Tours for his wife's brother;* but they were reconciled upon this occasion, because they mutually assisted each other; and by these means both obtained what they demanded. The same method was used by all who had any pretensions to vacant posts and employments, and in a very little time every thing was carried in the council by intrigue and cabal. "The time of kings is over," said one to another, "and that of the princes and grandees is come; and all they have now to do, is to set a high value upon themselves."

All the most considerable persons of the court were summoned to an extraordinary council, which was held to deliberate upon the use that should be made of those great armaments, set on foot by the late king, a little before his death, for the enterprize of Cleves. The diversity of opinions was infinite: some were for laying them totally aside: others, and those not the least numerous, were for performing all the promises made by

* Stephen Galigai, brother of Leonora Galigai. He was then abbot of Marmouëtier. "He had learned to read four years," says l'Etoile, "and yet knew nothing of the matter; he was called the baboon of the court, on account of his ugliness and mean aspect. The monks would not accept of him as their abbot, saying they had been used to be under the command of princes, and not of joiners, like him, who was just come from handling the plane." "But it is certain," says Amelot, "that the family of Galigai is reckoned amongst the noble families of Florence." He went back to Italy after the death of the marshal d'Ancre, and his wife.

Henry the Great to the German princes concerned in the affair: the greatest number were for mediums between these two opinions, so opposite to each other, some advised that we should keep only to the eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse, expressed in the general contracts made by king Henry with his allies: others, that we should content ourselves with maintaining the two regiments of French cavalry already in their service: a third party voted for embarking some foot soldiers at Calais; these, that we should send them no supplies of men, but assist them with money; those, that we should keep our whole army upon the frontier without acting, except in case of absolute necessity: and others, that we should disband the greatest part of our troops, and keep no more than were necessary for our own security. All this was intermixed with overtures of agreement and pacification, to be made between the contending powers, such as just then occurred to them.

It appeared to me that they all expected, with some impatience, my opinion, because I had been more engaged in the affair by the late king, than any other to whom he had communicated it. I began my making what I judged a very just distinction between those troops already drawn together into the body of an army, and those which were still levying; between those destined for the field, and those which had been sent into Dauphiné. With regard to the first, therefore, I concluded, that since, according to all appearances, and from the present situation of affairs, most part of the designs of Henry the Great would not be carried into execution, it was necessary to suspend immediately all levies not begun, stop those which were making, and pay and dismiss all that were made, and already upon

their march; because, since all this must be done sooner or later, it would save the king so much money in the expenses of sending backwards and forwards, and the people so much trouble and oppression. The death of him whom I had regarded as the great mover of this whole enterprize, seemed in my opinion to have made so great a change in it, that I believe I should have given the same advice, even though I had found no ill intentioned person amongst us; but neither could I conform to the opinions of those who were for betraying our allies, with whom we were engaged by the most solemn promises; or deceiving them, by affecting to take steps to procure an accommodation between them, or by granting them feeble succour, which would be of scarce any use to them.

This was the answer I made to the greatest part of those ambiguous opinions, which were for and against a thing at the same time. I made them sensible that it highly concerned the glory of the late king, since his greatest designs could not be accomplished, which might in some measure give room for suspicions that he had never really formed them, they should at least have all their effect with regard to what he had declared, promised, and already begun: that it was for the interest of our own reputation with the foreign powers, that we should not suffer them to believe the whole force of France was concentrated in one man only, and that we had so little respect for his memory. I concluded, therefore, that it was absolutely necessary to send deputies immediately to the German princes, and to the prince of Orange, to know of them whether they really stood in need of the assistance of our forces to help them to reduce those states which we were desirous of securing to them; for I thought they might do without them, if

that was not their sole motive for taking up arms; and, if they had occasion for them, to know how many they demanded, and that upon their answer those supplies should advance immediately under the conduct of good officers, taking their route along the Maes, which was not indeed the most agreeable, nor the shortest way, but was the most secure, which was a matter of great importance; or else, that the whole army should be disbanded, except thirty thousand foot, and six hundred troopers, who strengthened by four cannon only, and two culverins, should form a flying camp, ready to go wherever there was any appearances of an action: and this I thought sufficient to keep every place in order: that, till then, it was necessary to put the troops of Champagne into garrison, after giving them their full pay.

I gave much the same advice, with respect to the army of Dauphiné, as it had been already raised to support the duke of Savoy, who, in compliance with our request, had, or probably would, embroil himself with all his neighbours: therefore it might be justly expected, that we should either endeavour to reconcile him with the king of Spain, or put him into a condition to defend himself; and, as we could not take any resolution upon this head till we had sent another deputy to this prince, or, perhaps, till a long time afterwards, I advised that this army should be likewise put into convenient winter quarters, (after making so exact a review of them, that no false muster might be apprehended,) till there was occasion for them, or till they were disbanded altogether.

I found that I was heard with attention: my reasons seemed to have made a general impression: but with this difference, that sensible and well disposed persons did not scruple to discover this effect, by showing signs

of approbation, and even by applauses; whereas all the others not only carefully concealed it, either through vanity, neglect, or rather through jealousy, but also combated my reasons with eagerness and heat. I took care to inform Bethune, my cousin, of all this; who, in a letter he wrote to me, desired my advice upon the alteration which the public loss must necessarily make in his embassy to the German princes. I shall not transcribe his letter, nor my answer to it, because they contained nothing essentially different from what has been just said, except, perhaps, that I examined more particularly the good or bad effects of the advice I had given in the council: this, for example, is a thing that merits to be well observed, that which way soever it shall happen that a body of troops may find entrance into Germany to join the confederate princes, that entrance would be accompanied with great hazard, though the body consisted of ten thousand men, unless the allies on their side facilitated their advance by meeting them within ten or twelve leagues of our frontiers. The scheme of embarking them at Calais, if that was chosen, would be likewise inconvenient: it would supply our confederates with infantry only, and that to no greater number than eight thousand; and it was even necessary that we should have a right understanding with each other. I forewarned Bethune with respect to one thing, which required the attention of him and his correspondents, which was, that France, by changing her master, had changed every thing else; and I showed my astonishment, that the princes who employed him should express their schemes, desires, and resolutions, in so unintelligible a manner. I left it to his discretion to judge what use he ought to make of a letter, in which it was necessary I should avoid explaining myself clear-

ly upon several things: as for advice, I said, I had no other to give him, but to continue, till he received new orders, to act as he had done hitherto, and I promised him faithfully to take care of his interests. This letter was dated May 24.

Some days afterwards I was summoned to a more particular council upon this affair. M. de Jacop, ambassador from the duke of Savoy, suspecting that the resolutions taken by the members of the new council were not very favourable to his master, had pressed the queen-regent to declare her intentions to him as soon as possible, that his highness might take such measures thereupon as his interest required. We were to consult, therefore, upon the declarations proper to be made to this ambassador. In the morning, when I came to the Louvre, I found only the constable, the chancellor, and Villeroi, with the queen; Gêvres and Loménie had been there, but Villeroi had persuaded the queen to send them away, for which Gêvres made bitter complaints. I suspected, by the studied gestures and the winding discourse which one of these gentlemen began to make, that there was something they wished to conceal from me. “Madam,” said I to the queen, with my usual frankness, “I know not for what end you have been
“pleased to summon me hither: my presence either hin-
“ders these gentlemen from explaining themselves, or
“else they are come only to entrap one another. The
“business I perceive relates to the duke of Savoy; it is
“well known that I am not in great friendship with him:
“however, since his interests are at present connected
“with those of France, and that he is (at least in ex-
“pectation) an ally of the royal family, I have the same
“regard for him as I ought to have for all true French-

“men. I am of opinion, that the king is indispensably
“obliged to protect and defend him; and that his ma-
“jesty’s honour, and the glory of the kingdom, are
“both concerned not to suffer that the least injury
“should be offered to his person and dominions.”

I perceived the queen to smile at this speech, and
whisper Villeroi; then, turning to me, she said, “M. de
“Sully, it is true we are met to consult upon the duke
“of Savoy’s affairs; but there are others of still greater
“consequence, which it is necessary we should attend
“to. You see what quarrels have arisen among many
“of the grandees of the kingdom, whose ambition and
“avarice, you say, are insatiable. I entreat you to
“think of some remedy for this evil, that it may be
“proposed in the first council. With respect to M. de
“Savoy, these gentlemen and I, before you came, had
“talked of that business; and we are all of this opinion,
“that a reconciliation between France and Spain is
“most for our interest; and for this purpose we are de-
“termined to send one of the princes of the blood to
“Madrid, on occasion of the death of my lord the king,
“who shall be accompanied by a person well instructed
“in our affairs, and upon whose secresy we may se-
“curely rely. He shall set on foot this reconciliation,
“and propose an alliance between the two crowns by a
“double marriage, which I know the Spaniards still
“wish for as ardently as they did formerly; and while
“this affair is negociating, in which I foresee no great
“difficulty, or that it will be long protracted, we must
“flatter the duke of Savoy in his first hopes and ex-
“pectations, till we can declare ourselves without
“danger.”

This resolution gave me great uneasiness, which I discovered by my silence and shrugging up of my shoulders. The queen took notice of it, and pressed me to tell her my opinion. I represented to her, that we could not, without exposing ourselves to the reproach of having violated our faith, abandon a prince who had broken all his engagements with Spain, and openly declared himself against that crown,* at the persuasion of the deceased king; that, since we had altered our views, we ought to give him notice of it, and at the same time conceal this step from the king of Spain, or rather make him believe we had acted very differently, till, by a general reconciliation, we had put those out of danger who would not have been in it but through us. These arguments, however just and reasonable, made no impression on the queen and her counsellors, nor did they even approve the medium my last words had hinted at, but coldly told me, that this way would engage them in a train of tedious negotiations. I replied, with that confidence which a good cause inspires, that I found the

* By the treaty of Brusol, which had been concluded on the 25th of April. See it in Nevers's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 380. The duke of Savoy, being abandoned by the new council in France, could only escape the resentment of the court of Spain by the most humiliating step a crowned head can possibly be reduced to. His son came to throw himself at the king of Spain's feet, beseeching him to take the duke his father, and all his house, under his royal protection. He told the king, that he embraced his knees, that he had recourse to his clemency, and that, with the most humble submission, he asked his pardon for the faults he had been guilty of against him, &c. Siri most certainly mistakes his aim, if he pretends to make us admire the politics of the new council, by giving us such instances as this of their proceedings. One must be as much prejudiced as this writer against Henry IV and the duke of Sully, and as violent a partisan of the Spaniards, to approve of a manner of acting so opposite to that justice and generosity France has always professed to show.

sacrificing the duke of Savoy was a point determined on, and appeared to me to have been so before this consultation. I drew presages, no less certain to the disadvantage of our allies, from all the looks and signs of intelligence, which I surprized between the queen, the chancellor, and Villeroi: but the new counsellors, and the confidants of that princess, soon threw off all restraint, and declared their sentiments freely; the deceased king's government, so wise, so gentle, and so glorious for France, was condemned almost publicly, and even despised and ridiculed; at one time, they treated his designs as mere chimeras; at another, they represented him as a weak pusillanimous prince, incapable of taking any noble resolution. It was not enough to leave the death of this great prince unpunished; they added to that neglect all sorts of outrages against his memory, and unhappily for us, Heaven, which reserved to itself this vengeance, suffered envy and ingratitude to triumph in their success.

I returned home full of grief at what I saw and heard. "We are going," said I to madame de Sully, whose prudence I well knew, "to fall under the domination of Spain and the Jesuits: all true Frenchmen, and the Protestants especially, must look well to their safety; for they will not continue long in tranquillity." This reflection kept me in a profound reverie all dinner time. The bishop of Montpelier came to visit me in the afternoon: he entreated me to give him an opportunity of conferring with me in my closet, from whence, in about half an hour, I let him out by a private door; for he did not desire to be known, and therefore hid his face with his handkerchief, that none of my people might see it. "I have heard some news just now," said I to

my wife, and three or four persons in whom I confided; “ a secret council has been held at the house of the “ nuncio Ubaldini, at which were present the chancellor, Conchini, Villeroi, the bishop of Beziers, and another person whose name was not known, but he was “ thought to be the duke d’Epernon: they condemned, “ they even spoke with scorn and contempt of the deceased king’s designs; nor was I treated any better “ by them. It was there resolved to change entirely “ all the maxims of our government, and all our political alliances; to write to the pope, and promise to be “ guided wholly by his advice; to enter into a strict union “ with Spain, and, as soon as it should be solidly established, all those who showed any dislike to it, especially the Huguenots, should be removed from the “ administration of affairs, and banished the court. If “ I am wise,” continued I, “ I shall quietly resign all “ my posts and employments, withdraw all my money, “ or as much of it as I can; with part of it purchase “ some strong castle in one of the most distant provinces, “ and keep the remainder for any exigencies that may “ happen.”

We were still conversing upon this subject when the duke of Rohan, the two Bethunes, my brother and my cousin, my son, and two or three more of my most intimate friends, came in, to whom I imparted what I had heard, and the resolution I had taken upon it. They maintained that the information could not be true; that I was going to take a step which would draw upon me the reproach of ingratitude to the state, and to the children of the king, my benefactor; that I might very easily continue in the possession of all my employments, and the exercise of all my offices; and that it would ap-

pear weak and mean to yield thus to my enemies at the first encounter. I could not be convinced by their arguments, nor could I bring them to admit of mine. "It is your desire then," said I at last, "that I should sacrifice myself for the public, my family, and my friends; for I see plainly that your interest has great part in what you say to me. I will do so, since you force me to it; but remember what I now tell you: this concession will procure you no advantage, and will bring great trouble, loss, and even disgrace upon me; and I am going, added I, to give you a specimen of it this moment."

Having observed that the courtiers of the highest rank, and those among them most remarkable for their pride and insolence, had not disdained to make advances, and meanly court the friendship of him who appeared to engross the queen's favour, I concluded with myself, that it would be very difficult to preserve the same connection, and the same good intelligence (in appearance at least) with the court, as I had formerly done, unless I expressed some kind of regard for the new favourite. I had resolved, in case this thought should hold, to make use of Arnaud the younger for this purpose, who of himself was but too much disposed to worship the rising sun. I had sent for him in the morning, and acquainted him with the commission I intended to give him ere long, to wait upon monsieur Conchini,* and to make

* Concino Conchini, an Italian of mean birth, according to some; but a Florentine gentleman, according to others, better known under the title of marshal d'Ancre, which he bore afterwards. He was the chief favourite of the queen-regent, and loaded by her with riches and dignities. It is said that, at his departure from Florence, one of his friends asking him what he was going to do in France, his answer was, *either to make his fortune or perish*; and that he did both the one and the other. He was killed in the

him offers of service in my name. I had already told him in what manner to turn his compliment, which I shall here give the reader: He was to tell Conchini that I bore him no ill will for the height fortune was going to raise him to, by giving him the same place under the queen as I had held under the late king; that I looked upon this event as one of those which happen too often in the order of Providence, to occasion much surprise; that the queen-regent, by thus advancing him, justly repaid the attachment which his wife and himself had always shown for her, and the good services she had received from them; that, by choosing him to preside over the administration of affairs, her majesty doubtless expected to give to the king her son, and to the whole state, an able and a faithful minister, two great qualities, which are alone sufficient to render a man, whoever he was, truly worthy of all the benefits her favour could secure to him; that, being equally persuaded of

Louvre by Vitry, on the 24th of August 1617, by order of Lewis XIII, and at the solicitation of the nobility.* The hatred which was conceived against him, has caused him to be painted in the blackest colours. Very few have done justice to the good qualities he possessed: but, perhaps, divine justice designed to revenge the horrible assassination of Henry the Great on the person of this Italian, one of those whom it is the most difficult to acquit of it, supposing this murder was committed by foreign instigation. His wife, the same Leonora Galigai, so often mentioned in these Memoirs, was also put to death. They could find no other crimes to charge her with, but her having bewitched the queen her mistress. "I have never," answered she to her judges, "made use of any witchcraft but my wit; is it at all to be wondered at that I governed the queen, who had none? Cardinal Richelieu," adds Amelot, "owed the first steps towards his fortune to this woman." They both were possessed of the magic of eloquence. We must search in the histories of Mary of Medicis, and of Lewis XIII, for whatever relates to this matter. There are also some anecdotes relating to it, which are curious enough, in Bassompierre's Memoirs.

* See Vol. V. p. 128, 9.

the queen's laudable designs, and of his disposition to second them, I freely and cordially offered to him all those measures which a long experience had furnished me with; an offer which he would find worthy of acceptance, if he reflected, that, besides the public good, which would necessarily result from it, he would reap some advantage to himself, in not purchasing the favours which in the sequel would be showered on him, with the jealousy of the nobles, the public hatred, the prejudice of affairs, and the oppression of the people; that the only return I asked of him for thus entering into his views of grandeur and interest, was to endeavour to gratify them by following those maxims of government by which the late king had rendered his people happy, and his kingdom flourishing. Of these maxims, one which the present state of affairs seemed to render most necessary, was not to accustom the men of business, and those importunate petitioners that haunt the court, to depend upon obtaining all they should demand: that, upon these conditions, he should find me sincerely disposed to unite myself with him; and that from this moment I offered him my friendship, and requested his.

If the nature of my compliment be well considered, it will be granted that there were exceptions in these advances which took away all fear of having engaged myself too far: but, however, I believe it will be allowed, that they ought to satisfy, and, if I may say so, flatter the vanity of him to whom they were made. Be that as it will, this message appeared to me very proper to produce that effect, of which I was endeavouring to persuade those, who so obstinately combated my resolution. After having called Arnaud, and given him his instructions in the presence of these gentlemen; "Go,"

said I to him, "to monsieur Conchini, and deliver the " message to him which I gave you in the morning, and " return as soon as possible. I am much deceived," added I, "if all these gentlemen," addressing myself to them, "who have so good an opinion of the queen, " and her privy counsellors, will not find, by Conchini's " answer, that there is nothing for me to expect."

The company all staid with me, waiting for an answer to my message, which Arnaud brought us at the expiration of an hour, and in a manner which confirmed me in those suspicions I had before conceived against him. He began with praising Conchini for his great abilities, and his knowledge in matters of state, dwelt upon his interest, and powerful friends, and, slightly passing over what it most concerned me to know, he only told me, that he believed I had nothing to hope for from him, unless I were disposed to comply with him in all things. "I fancy I understand you," said I, with a little rage I was not able to suppress;* "but tell me " plainly what you would be at, and let me know what " you and he said to one another." Then, as if forced to it, he gave us the following detail, shaking his head, and smiling malignantly as he spoke: That, as he entered Conchini's house, he met the president Jeannin and his brother Arnaud, who were just coming out; that they seemed concerned at seeing him there, but that they did not speak to him, nor he to them, which, however, I believe was not true; that a gentleman, whose name was Vincenzo, introducing him into Conchini's apartment, said to him, "You belong, I think, to M. de

* M. de Sully had a custom of scratching his head, if any one vexed or embarrassed him.

“ Sully; would to God that we were to follow his coun-
“ sels, rather than those of the two persons who went
“ from hence just now, and of several others still worse
“ than they are! we should not hurry things on at such
“ a rate as they urge us to do; but the queen’s authori-
“ ty and our fortune would be established in a more
“ laudable manner, and be far more certain and dura-
“ ble.” That, entering Conchini’s apartment, he said
to him, “What! monsieur Arnaud, are you come to
“ visit me?” That hereupon he made him the com-
plement, and delivered the message I had sent by him,
which he now repeated to us.

Arnaud then stopped again, and, after some hesita-
tion, said, that the answer he had received was so very
short and dry, that he believed it was the best way not
to repeat it. What still remained for him to tell was
precisely that which I most wanted to know. After
suffering himself to be urged a long time, he at length
told us, that Conchini, without expressing any acknow-
ledgment for the civil offers he had made him in my
name, and even without seeming to give the least atten-
tion to what he had said, replied in very bad French,
and in a proud and disdainful accent, “How! M. Ar-
“naud, the duke of Sully then expects to govern the
“ affairs of France as he did in the late king’s time: he
“ is much mistaken; the queen being queen, it is for
“ her to dispose of all things as she pleases, and I would
“ advise him to be wholly guided by her will: as for my
“ wife and I, we have no occasion for the assistance or
“ favour of any one; her majesty esteems us, because
“ we have served her faithfully: it is not in the power
“ of any person whatever to deprive us of her favour,
“ or to hinder the effects of it. If M. de Sully has any

“requests to make, he will have more occasion for our
“assistance than we of his, which he has sent you to
“offer us; and possibly, if he knew how much we are
“courted, he would be more respectful than he has
“hitherto been: there is not any prince or nobleman of
“the court who has neglected to visit us, except him
“and another.”

The company, who had not expected so rude and insolent an answer, stared at each other, and shrugged up their shoulders, but did not utter a word. “Well, gentlemen,” said I to them, “do you still think it possible
“for me to keep my employments with honour, and
“that they will suffer me to continue at the head of affairs as formerly?” They acknowledged that they had formed a wrong judgment of the true state of things. This led us into many other conversations, which were very long, but of too little consequence to be related here. In the end, however, it was determined that we should allow something to chance, precipitate nothing, and wait to see what the arrival of M. the prince of Condé would produce; upon whom many others, as well as myself, had founded great hopes.

It was from Pallot that I received the first information of this prince’s having entered the kingdom; and he told me, at the same time, that, being not well furnished with ready money, I might make my court to him very successfully, by paying him, without waiting till he demanded it, one half year of his pension. Fortunately it was in my power to do him this favour without incurring the reproach of having disposed of the king’s money at my own pleasure, and without staying for an order; for this sum had been carried to account, though it was not yet delivered to the prince; because the late

king, being unwilling to let him know that he had still indulgence enough for him to continue his pension, waited till some opportunity should offer when I might send it him as if from myself. I had already paid half the sum to two persons whom the prince had commissioned to demand it, and, remembering that they had told me about eight days ago that the money was still in their hands, I ordered the whole sum to be delivered to Palot, who, when he paid it to the prince, took care to give him a just notion of this instance of my attachment to him. In reality, at that time, it was one of the greatest services I could have done him, and he was so much obliged by it, that he declared publicly, as I was informed by a son of M. d'Harcourt,* that he would not enter Paris till he had seen me and asked my advice, which he was resolved to follow. As I then saw myself surrounded with none but enemies, I was truly rejoiced at having thus extinguished that resentment which the first prince of the blood had so long borne me. He did me the honour to depute to me, at different times, messieurs de Rieux, de Montataire, de Clermont, and other gentlemen, to acquaint me with his situation and his designs.

III. The prince of Condé, upon the news of the king's death, had instantly set out for France, and hoped, by making extraordinary haste, to arrive time enough to take advantage of the rights due to his rank upon this occasion, which were exactly like those on which the king of Navarre, his great uncle, had endeavoured to gain the preference before Catherine de Medicis; but being soon informed that the queen, without staying for him, or for any of the other princes of the blood, without first settling a council of regency as the

* Peter de Harcourt, marquis of Beuvron.

laws directed, or observing any of the usual forms on such occasions, had been rather declared than chosen regent, he found that he could no longer indulge a hope of obtaining the regency, and even began to entertain some doubts about the treatment they were preparing for him at court, where, after this, his presence could not fail of being unwelcome: but as he imagined that nothing was more likely to give weight to his demands, than the respect and distinction which the nobles should be observed to pay him upon this occasion, he caused them to be sounded, and gave them to understand, that he should think himself obliged to all those who should come to meet him, and escort him into Paris.

This proposal was made to me as well as the rest, but I thought the place I filled required that, before I complied with it, I should obtain the queen's permission; as she now represented the person of the king. She did not expressly forbid me to go and meet the prince, but, by the manner in which she received my request, she hinted that I should do her a pleasure if I abstained from shewing him this instance of respect. I also found, by the few words she said, that she gave me, as well as others, liberty to choose between her and the princes of the blood; for it was apparent that she did not expect to be upon good terms with them. It was probable, likewise, that the coldness and reserve which appeared in her countenance, proceeded from some resentment she entertained against me for having paid the prince the money I have mentioned: for her confidants had discovered the affair, and did not fail to inform her of it; and she, without doubt, had forgot that that sum made an article of expense which had been inserted in the accounts; it is likely also, that the

council which was held, and which I forgot to mention till now, was one consequence of this resentment. It was there determined, that, till a new order, I should continue to have the direction of the finances, particularly of what related to the pensions of state. I was apprehensive that the queen wanted only such an incident as this, to withdraw her favour from me entirely; and I was resolved not to expose myself to her hatred, for a thing which did not appear to me to be of much importance. As to the prince, he dispatched couriers after couriers to prevail upon me to alter my resolution; and at length he ordered the gentlemen before mentioned to assure me, that he was absolutely determined not to come to Paris at all, since I refused to accompany him in his entry, and to confer with him upon those affairs which would determine the part he was to take, and which he could only know from me.

Thus importuned, I went again to the queen, to solicit her consent that I should meet the prince; but I could obtain no other permission, than such a one as plainly indicated her displeasure at my asking it. The choice I was to make was so much the more perplexing, as it lay between two parties which from thenceforward must be looked on as totally opposite to each other: however, I declared myself openly for that which would consider my compliance as an essential service, rather than the other, by whom it would be only acknowledged as an instance of complaisance which would be soon forgot; and I went to meet the prince,* who, notwithstanding all that the duke d'Eper-

* "The prince," says Matthieu, "was at his house at Châteauroux: he had seen the duke of Sully, who had advised him to return to court, as his presence alone would be of more advantage to the king's service," &c. Ibid. 23.

non could say to him, would not set out from the place where he had dined, till he knew that I was not far off. I met him in the open road, and alighted to pay my respects to him; but he was off his horse almost as soon as I, and came to embrace me with equal marks of joy and deference. He began a conference with me as we stood, which lasted a quarter of an hour, though d'Epéron represented to him that it would be late before he got to Paris: he addressed himself by the way often to me upon different subjects: I attended him to the gates of the Louvre, where I left him to pay his compliments to the queen,* and returned myself to the Arsenal.

It was very possible, that, at the time when the prince of Condé seemed apprehensive of meeting with some ill usage from the queen, he secretly flattered himself with having a very different reception, when he reflected upon the good intelligence they were in formerly: and perhaps he had, upon these expectations, formed a plan of conduct quite contrary to that he laid down to me, and assured me he would follow. It was the general opinion when he left France, that his dis-

* "The prince came to Paris the 15th of July, accompanied by fifteen hundred gentlemen, which greatly alarmed the queen, who was afraid, as the artillery, the bastile, and the late king's treasures, were in his power, by means of the duke of Sully; in case the parliament and people should not prove faithful, he might attempt things of very dangerous consequence to the king's service. The prince had no less mistrust of others than what they had of him. On his arrival, he had notice given him three or four times, that the queen, at the instigation of the count of Soissons, had formed a design to secure him and the duke of Bouillon; which was the reason, that, notwithstanding the kind reception he met with from both their majesties, he was up three nights, ready to quit Paris on the first notice he should receive of any attempts being formed against him." *Hist. de la Mere et du Fils*, Vol. I. p. 101.

content and his flight were the effects of that princess's advice and persuasions, and the late king was told so: however that may be, the prince, if he built any thing upon the former friendship between him and the queen, was soon undeceived, and knew by experience, that it was of no force against the jealousy of absolute power. The queen seemed to have forgot the time when they gave the name of their common interest to the motives by which they were actuated; but it was not her entering into a recital of affairs of state, and the government, which banished past scenes from her remembrance, for she communicated nothing to him upon those heads, and confined herself to a ceremonial so grave, so cold, and reserved, that the prince quitted the Louvre, greatly disgusted with his reception.

All this I discovered by the conversation we had together when he came to visit me two days afterwards, though he did not at first explain himself freely, and named no one. I waited for an explanation of his sentiments, before I would declare mine; and till then I was still more reserved than he was; but at length he began to talk to me of his designs in terms so clear, expressed all at once so much esteem for me, and such unlimited confidence in my sincerity, shewed so ardent a desire to labour, in concert with me, to find proper measures to hinder that confusion and disorder with which the affairs of the state and the finances were threatened, demanded so sincerely my advice concerning the conduct he should pursue for the public good, in the midst of those obstacles which jealousy, hatred, and faction, were going to oppose to his designs, that I thought I owed so much to his generous confidence, and to the laudable motive by which he was inspired,

as to open my heart to him freely upon all that he had said: in this I was more fully determined by his telling me candidly, that among all those to whom he communicated his earnest wishes, that the political and domestic affairs of the state might still continue to be governed by the same maxims which the late king had pursued, there was not one who did not endeavour to make him alter his opinion, and inspire him with disgust at the former administration. I was afraid that the view of difficulties either absolutely insurmountable, or which could not be overcome without infinite hazard, would throw him into the path they sought to lead him to.

After I had thanked him for the honour of his esteem and confidence, I made him the following answer, and almost in these words: That those persons whom he had consulted upon the present question, were all too much interested in it to give him such advice as might ruin their hopes and expectations; that I could offer him no other than such as I would give to his uncles, the prince of Conti and the count of Soissons, and to the queen herself, were they to consult me with any intentions of being influenced by my reasons, because the real interest of all four, if well examined, would be found to be the same; and this advice was, to unite together to support the honour and grandeur of the king against the nobles, and against that crowd of importunate, ambitious, and self-interested men, with which the court was filled: since the designs of all those persons were to take advantage, by methods the least allowable, of a conjuncture which has at all times been the triumph of avarice and licentiousness: that this was the point from whence they were to set out; and that they might not go aside, or give an example to others

which they themselves condemned, it was necessary that the whole kingdom should be informed, by a solemn declaration, that their sole view in this union was the glory of the state; and by the effects it produced, the people should be convinced that they were treading in the steps of a king, all of whose designs and undertakings had been justified by that success they hoped to be favoured with: that it was indispensably necessary to protest frequently, and in the most public manner, that they were actuated by the same spirit by which that great prince had found the secret of making a kingdom, plunged in misery and despair, opulent and flourishing; and that the most effectual proof they could give of their exact imitation of him, was to have no selfish views, by refusing all the unjust demands of a multitude of greedy courtiers: I did not mean by this, that they were not to expect or desire any reward for themselves; on the contrary, it was one of the advantages which these four persons would derive from this system, that, by directing all affairs with wisdom and prudence, they would in one year accumulate more riches justly, and with honour, than they could in ten by any other method; but that, however, they must not suffer themselves to be tainted by avarice; and this caution I repeated the oftener, because that of all the virtues necessary to statesmen, there is not one so difficult to practise as moderation, in the midst of vast treasures and unlimited favour. I added, that I knew already all the plans formed by each of the princes to enjoy what they called their birth-right: but also, that by preserving themselves from that dangerous snare, no power would be able to resist them: were all the nobles and all the heads of the different factions to be leagued against them,

the interest of the king, when supported by such methods, would become the public and the general interest, and the impression made by the royal name would be then carried to its highest pitch.

I then told the prince, that all that now remained, was to know, whether the queen and the two other princes of the blood, were disposed to take such measures as were necessary for the success of this scheme; but that I was so far from flattering him with this hope, that I freely declared to him, he ought not to reckon upon their concurrence; yet that this should not induce him to desist from using his utmost endeavours to bring the queen over, as well because it was necessary that, in a point of this consequence, he should have no cause to reproach himself with any neglect, as because this princess, being already in possession of the royal authority, he would have occasion for the strongest reasons he could urge, to justify to the public the extremities he would be obliged to proceed to. That, after this precaution, no consideration whatever should hinder him from taking upon himself the discharge of a duty which the princes his uncles were not willing to share with him; but that, when thus deprived of all other support, he must make his actions speak for him: these must show a disinterestedness so determined, a candour and probity so distinguished, as would accustom the people to look upon him as the true friend of the king, themselves, and the state: that a man who employed only such arms as these, in so elevated a station, would sooner or later carry all before him: that the princes of Conti and Soissons would be among the first who were sensible of it, by contrasting the honour which a procedure so great and disinterested would reflect

upon the royal blood, with the disrespect, the contempt, and often the affronts they would be exposed to, when the public saw them confounded with the rest of the selfish courtiers. That the queen herself would find many arguments to sway her inclination to a contrary conduct, especially if she saw the princes of the blood reunited against her. That, in a word, I believed I might venture to engage for it, that necessity, confidence, and the force of the torrent, would at length bring all over to his side; and that there would be no longer any connections, quarrels, reconciliations, and cabals, between the queen, the princes, and the people in place, which would not turn to the advantage of his authority. if from this moment he would begin to form the plan I had sketched out to him, and follow it faithfully.

The extreme attention with which the prince listened to me, convinced me that I had found the way to his heart, and that I had made that strong impression upon it which is the effect of virtue and justice united in the same object. What has since happened does not prove that I was then deceived; or, if it does, it proves also that the prince deceived himself first; since it is certain, that the force of my arguments supported him a long time against the assaults he received on all sides. Whatever arts were made use of by those persons who continually beset him, the slightest attention to the nature of those counsels they gave him, must have shown him very plainly, that they were dictated by avarice and ambition. How different were such sentiments from those I endeavoured to inspire him with! He felt it, he was convinced of it, and yet he suffered himself, like all the rest, to be carried along with the torrent. The duke of Bouillon contributed more than any other

to engage him in the party of error.* I myself represent, and probably exaggerate, every thing that can serve to justify this prince, by candidly acknowledging, that it was not difficult to paint, in the finest colours, those motives by which they endeavoured to undermine my principles; and that it ought not to appear surprising, that a prince, young and unexperienced, should not have discernment enough to distinguish appearances from realities; nor firmness enough to prefer what is useful to what flatters and pleases. It was by the fol-

* The author of the life of the duke of Bouillon, giving an account of the counsels that duke gave the prince of Conde, says, "He advised him to leave the queen the rank of regent, but to reduce it to a mere title, which might satisfy her vanity; but to get all the actual authority into his own hands. He told him, he knew an infallible way of bringing this to pass, which, if he would pursue it, he would be answerable for its success: that this method consisted in his again making profession of the Calvinist religion, from which the late king had drawn him, and to declare himself the protector of the Protestants in France: that being, in consequence of this step, followed by the Calvinist nobility, of whom he would be head, master of all the strong places in the possession of that party, (that is, of an hundred and three towns and places well fortified,) supported by all the Swiss in France, of whom the duke of Rohan was colonel-general; secure of all the treasures left by the late king in the Bastile, which the duke of Sully, discontented with the regent, could put into his hands: it could not, with all these great advantages, be any way doubted, but a first prince of the blood, as he was, during a minority, must be in a condition to seize on all the authority, and make himself equally formidable within the kingdom as without.—God did not permit him to follow this advice of the duke of Bouillon; if he had, the Calvinists would have recovered all the advantages they had lost by the late king's conversion: in all probability, the kingdom would have been divided between them and the Catholics; and their republic, which was treated as imaginary, would at last have proved something real." Vol. II. p. 307. But many continued persuaded, as this historian himself afterwards owns, that the duke of Bouillon did not seriously make this proposition to the prince; that he was the first to divert him from it; and that all his intent was only to let the regent see, that he himself would be a sufficient security against all the mischief he was able to do her.

lowing arguments that they effaced all the impression which mine had made on his mind.

They told him, that the reasons I had urged to him tended only to engage him in an absurd imaginary system; that such refined maxims neither suited our times nor our manners; that probity and virtue alone signified nothing; that the chimeras with which I filled his imagination would be laughed at by all reasonable persons; that by thus aspiring to be the support of the whole nation, he would only incur a general hatred, and too late regret that he had not made a better use of so happy a conjuncture: that the only wise part for him to take, at a time when the royal treasures were about to become a public prey, was to claim the best and largest portion of them for himself, as being, next to their majesties, the first person in the kingdom;* that he had profited but little by the necessitous condition to which he had been reduced, if it had not taught him, that when an opportunity offered to extricate himself from it, it ought to be embraced with open arms: that he might be assured it was not so much for his interest as my own, that I endeavoured to throw him into a desperate party; that this was the only resource I had left to support my expiring credit: that by seeking to connect his interests with mine, I should drag him down the precipice with me: that the hatred of the nobles and the ministers against me was so great and invincible, that the bare suspicion of my having any in-

* "He would gladly," says the same historian I have just been quoting, "having contested the regency if he had dared; but he was diverted from it by the kind treatment he met with. He had a pension of two hundred thousand livres given him, together with the palace of Conti, in the suburb of Saint-Germain, which had been bought for two hundred thousand francs, the county of Clermont, and many other gratifications.

fluence over him, was sufficient to ruin all his expectations and designs: that I had disdained to offer my friendship and services to any one; and, in revenge, all were so well agreed upon that one point, my ruin, that there was no condition which they would not accept from those who were going to have the disposal of all favours and rewards, provided my disgrace was annexed to it.

On occasions like these, when one has been able to render the advice suspected, the adviser is not far from being hated: this was what they undertook to accomplish, and they succeeded. They gave the prince to understand, that it was absolutely necessary for the system he was going to embrace, that my ruin should be resolved on: what I had said to him myself confirmed it to him; all my own words were turned against me; so that, by a strange caprice of the mind, (of which, however, politics have furnished more than one example,) those very sentiments which but a moment before the prince had admired in my mouth, laid the foundation of that hatred he from thenceforward began to bear me, and of the persecution he raised against me. Then it was that the resolution was taken, not to suffer me to continue any longer in the ministry* than was necessary for their own schemes; and in the mean time to undermine, by degrees, what power I had still left, and to withdraw, without any seeming design, all the papers, memoirs, and instructions, relating to the finances, which were in my hands, till the moment arrived when I was to be dismissed for ever. If the exe-

* All these intrigues amongst the princes, the courtiers and the ministers, to get the duke of Sully removed, are related in particular memoirs, and especially in *l'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils*, Vol. I. p. 111, et seq. 120, 127, et seq. In the *History of the duke of Bouillon*, Vol. II. p. 313, et seq. and in that of the duke d'Epemon.

cution of this plot was deferred till the following year, it was only because some unforeseen difficulties retarded it.

Probably I did not at that time know all the plots which were then secretly forming against me; but I guessed at so many of them, that I resumed, with more earnestness than formerly, the resolution that I had endeavoured to make my family agree to, which was, to retire from court before I should appear to be forced from it: I even went so far as to mention my design to the queen regent, and intreated her not to oppose it. Although, by this proposal, I was doubtless answering all her views, yet she used such profound dissimulation in the answer she made me, that although I had suffered myself to be deceived, yet I think I could not have been accused of too great credulity. Conchini and his wife had never more influence over her than at this time: she began to be wholly governed by them; yet she pretended to be as much disgusted with their proceedings as I was myself: she endeavoured to persuade me that she was fully satisfied with my conduct; that she should be greatly perplexed if I abandoned her, at a time when the king's coronation would give her sufficient employment; and that it would take up all the remainder of the year to prepare for the changes which my dismissal from my employments must necessarily make in affairs. I accommodated myself to her will, without suffering my own to be altered; for though I continued to perform all the duties of my offices, yet I was so constantly upon my guard against the machinations of my enemies, that I would not leave them an opportunity of despoiling me themselves.

They at length came to a resolution with regard to the affair of Cleves: indeed it could not be longer delayed, if they had any desire to appear concerned in it. The army of the confederates, joined to that of the United Provinces, had laid siege to Juliers; and the prince of Orange who commanded it, had taken such measures, that the place must of necessity fall into his hands. Our supplies were wholly useless to him, because the house of Austria had taken no step, nor set any troops on foot, to oppose her enemies; and after this exploit, the war, as they proposed to carry it on, must be soon at an end. But the new council of the queen, composed of those persons I have already mentioned, thought they should show a master-piece of policy, by now granting them more than what they had been so long and ineffectually soliciting. They knew the condition the besieged city was in, and they were desirous of having the honour of taking it, as it could not hold out long, after the arrival of our troops. They likewise imagined, that this would be an incitement to the king of Spain to solicit an alliance with us, for which they thought he did not show eagerness enough; and they were ashamed to make all the advances themselves. It was resolved, therefore, that a body of eight thousand foot, twelve hundred horse, and eight pieces of cannon, should be immediately sent to Juliers; and that the command of this army should be given to the marshal de la Châtre.

When this determination was made public, and, for form's sake, laid before the general council, I could not refrain from speaking my sentiments of it freely. I desired to know for what end they were at the expense of this army, against enemies who did not defend them-

selves; and for allies who no longer needed our assistance? I declared my opinion of this unseasonable succour, which was not much for our honour. I represented to them the difficulties and delays to which our troops were exposed by this unnecessary march: and, indeed, to perform it without having any thing to fear from the enemies they might meet in their journey, they must be obliged to go a great way about, and traverse rude, mountainous, and barren countries. Conchini, who had brought over the count of Soissons and the duke of Bouillon to his opinion, and who was satisfied with his own secret reasons, suffered me to talk on, like a man to whom they scorned to disclose their designs: and the departure of the troops was resolved on. However, to prevent any farther importunity from me, and to give me even a personal interest in this armament, they granted my son-in-law (who had long solicited a distinguished employment in the German army) the post of field-marshal-general; which was likely to be so much the more acceptable, as this rank gave him an unquestionable right to the chief command, if any thing should happen to the general. It was not impossible even that la Châtre would, through some disgust, resign the command, as he had more than once been upon the point of doing. The difficulty of the roads alarmed him, as well as the dangers he might encounter in his march; and he also owned to me, and to some others of the council, that the Jesuits raised great scruples in his mind about joining the heretics against good Catholics. However, I gave him a little courage, by telling him of a more convenient rout than that which he had designed to take; and he disposed himself to begin his march.

The preparations for this armament, which fell to my charge, were made in such a manner, that the army was composed of the best troops we had then on foot; they had a complete train of artillery, well served; and the fund for the expenses was so large, that the treasurer brought back an hundred thousand crowns. Prince Maurice acknowledged, that he had not for a long time seen so fine and so well disciplined a body of troops: he expressed some surprise, indeed, that the general, who by all appearances should be one of our best soldiers, had but a very slight knowledge of what was practised in sieges, and in other parts of war.

This is all that I shall say of this expedition: the historians* have given a more particular account of what

* See an account of the taking of Juliers, and of this expedition, in the *Merc. Franç.* and other historians, ann. 1610.

The taking of Juliers obliged the emperor to lay aside his design of sequestering, into the hands of the archduke Leopold of Austria, the territories that were in dispute; and the dukes of Brandenburg and Neuburgh quietly shared the whole succession betwixt them: the elector of Brandenburg had Cleves, La Mark, and Ravensberg; and the duke of Neuburgh, Juliers and Berg. Philip-Lewis, son of this duke of Neuburgh, had two sons, of whom one continued the branch of Neuburgh; and from the youngest, the counts of Sulsbach are descended; in whom the two branches are now about to be reunited, because the branch of Neuburgh will become extinct in the present elector Palatine: and from hence, an hundred and thirty years after the death of duke William of Juliers, the same difficulties on this eventual succession are again likely to arise; the king of Prussia, of the house of Brandenburg, being able to produce the following reason for his opposition to this reunion, that the two branches were separated when the treaty of 1666 was made, which seems only to stipulate for descendants of the contracting parties;* and the emperor, on the other hand, finding it his interest to support the prince of Sulsbach; because, if this young prince should happen to die without issue male, he would make use of his old pretext, of the male fiefs, as a reason for his taking possession of

* This was written before the death of the last emperor, and the last elector palatine.

happened in it, how our army passed into Germany, and how it returned. My fears of being too sincere upon this subject, and the very unuseful part I now began to act, obliges me to hasten towards the conclusion of these Memoirs.

Juliers and Berg; besides the interest he would have in it on account of the princes of Saxony, his allies.

There appeared a work in two volumes in 1738, wherein this matter is discussed and very well explained.











